

JPRS-WER-84-063

22 May 1984

# West Europe Report

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22 May 1984

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## FOREIGN MINISTRY OUTLINES COUNTRY'S EFFORTS FOR ARMS CONTROL

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Apr 84 p 15

[Article by Olav Trygge Storvik: "Foreign Affairs Ministry Stresses Norwegian Arms Control Work"]

[Text] Work on beginning negotiations for the control and limitation of nuclear weapons and the improvement of contacts between the East and West are among the objectives which for the time being have highest priority in Norwegian quarters in arms control work, it was stressed at a broad-scope orientation meeting at the Foreign Affairs Ministry on Thursday.

Foreign Affairs Ministry Department Head Oscar Vaernø reported on work in the committee for arms control and arms reduction, while Ambassador Leif Mevik reported on the situation at the Stockholm conference regarding security and confidence building measures in Europe. Ambassador Beate Mo Alvegård gave a summary of the MBFR talks in Vienna which have been going on since 1973, and Embassy Counsellor Sten Lundbo studied the situation at the arms reduction conference in Geneva, where on Norway's part important contributions have been made to the formulation of control agreements via research results from specific projects at the Armed Forces Research Institute and NORSAR [expansion unknown].

A central problem area for Norwegian arms reduction work now is how it is possible to improve East-West contacts, the foreign affair's minister's personal secretary, Thorbjørn Frøysnes reported in a study of the Foreign Affairs Ministry's arms reduction work. A central objective is to contribute to having the nuclear weapons talks resumed. In the Foreign Affairs Ministry note has been made with interest of signals which Foreign Affairs Minister Sverre Strøm received during his visit to Czechoslovakia recently. They indicate that some Eastern countries can consider advocating the resumption of the nuclear weapons talks if the Western countries can agree to three conditions: The talks, first, must be conducted in another context than what hitherto has gone under the names INF and START. In addition, they must be expanded and take into consideration other weapons systems also than those which have been discussed up to now, and, finally, the talks must be conducted at another place than in Geneva.

A certain rapprochement has taken place between the East and West in the MBFR talks, Frøysnes believed. NATO is now in the process of carrying out a sweeping discussion of its negotiation position as preparation for a new initiative in Vienna. But at the Stockholm conference it is still too early to see where it is going. The first contributions from countries within the Warsaw Pact indicate that the purpose of the proposals being made is more declaratory than sincere, and this is of course not acceptable from the West's viewpoint, Frøysnes believed.

8985

CSO: 3639/105

## FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN REJECTS 'EUROPEAN ALTERNATIVE'

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 16 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Alois Mertes, minister of state in Foreign Affairs Ministry: "The Alliance Has Stood the Test"]

[Text] I agree with the general diagnosis in Henry Kissinger's argument for a reconstruction of NATO (ZEIT, 2 March 1984); I do not agree with the individual diagnoses. I think the concrete suggestions for therapy are wrong.

Who would not also demand from Europe what Kissinger demands a priori from the U.S.: "The Atlantic alliance must remain the cardinal point of American policy. Without its unity, there is no hope for a new East-West dialogue." Who does not share his concern that European neutrals and American unilateralists are unintentionally playing into the enemy's hands and undermining the basis of the alliance? Who would deny that along with the necessary "genuine relaxation of tension" -- in the sense of the removal of the political causes of tension and armament -- there can also be "deceptive relaxation of tension"? Who does not want to raise the nuclear threshold in Europe by strengthening the conventional level of flexible reaction?

In his latest appeal as well Henry Kissinger remains true to his central point: Europe deserves -- in America's interests as well -- a more appropriate part of the power structure and therefore of the responsibility of the alliance. We owe him our thanks for not tiring of asking the vital question of the political calling of Europe in the alliance again and again.

But who does Kissinger mean when he speaks in general of "the Europeans"? Certain governments? Certain opposition parties? Certain movements? Who does he mean when he talks about "Europe"? I am afraid that a Europe that is relevant from a unified political and strategic point of view does not exist, at least not yet. One must regret this, but it remains bitter reality.

A thorough change in the strategy and structure of the alliance is at present-- and this can last a long time -- impossible. There are three political reasons for this:

First: The treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons has since 1968, in accordance with the common wishes of the U.S. and the USSR, cemented the

imbalance of power between Western Europe and America. The treaty banning nuclear weapons prevents the establishment of a multilateral European nuclear power, and this also means every direct or indirect coresponsible power of European nonnuclear states over the nuclear potential of the allies.

Many Americans have forgotten: The business basis of the German agreement with the nuclear ban treaty was the ever-present nonviolability of the nuclear security guarantee of the United States in favor of the Federal Republic of Germany, including Berlin, and the agreement to take all necessary military and political steps for the credibility of this guarantee.

Second: We are far away from a European Security Community or a European alliance state. Great Britain and France insist upon the exclusively national, non-European character of their nuclear potential.

Third: The Soviet "Drang nach Westen" is unbroken. Soviet accelerated armament continues. It is revealing to note the power division now during peacetime. It makes it clear that Europe, with a "distribution" of two thirds of the armed forces, remains as before the central point in all Soviet strategic considerations.

Nevertheless, the risk of a Soviet attack on Europe is almost zero, if the premise of the NATO deterrence strategy is correct: that the Soviet Union will act rationally if its very existence could even distantly be endangered by its own mistake. But it must be clear that the alliance has at its disposition in peacetime as well a force that opposes the danger of an imbalance of power caused by Moscow and that if necessary makes possible a suitable defense.

The alliance has put together for the accomplishment of its strategy a suitable force of conventional weapons, nuclear short and intermediate range weapons systems, and intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons. This force must be further developed to maintain the military balance as the basis of our security. But we must not forget that the military balance is a dynamic equation with a political-psychological dimension that is not to be underestimated: It is not what we consider to be a balance, but rather what the political opponent considers to be a balance.

Kissinger thinks the alliance lacks a unified, credible strategy. I don't think so. The CDU, CSU, and FDP, and a part of the SPD have conducted the argument on the NATO dual decision with the assurance that the alliance had a unified, credible strategy. Naturally there is the discussion of the acceptance of the strategy in public opinion, above all by the younger generation in Germany. But whoever in accordance with his best knowledge and conscience can offer no better strategy than the one in effect has no other choice but to make the present one acceptable by force of argument and courage.

And how do things stand with credibility? The facts -- above all the struggle for armament -- show that the majority of Europeans consider the NATO strategy to be credible, that is, they trust in it. Moscow's careful policy -- even after the beginning of armament -- shows that the Soviet Union, which calculates its risksexactly, takes the strategy seriously, that is, treats it as



credible. Shall we destroy this credibility by doubt?

The polls and party elections, which speak for a close relationship of trust with America, refute Kissinger's opinion that all too many Europeans believe in the caricature of an America governed by trigger-happy cowboys. There are in a part of the public opinion -- much less among the body of electors -- such ideas, and much of the rhetoric from America since 1980 has fueled the fires of such incorrect judgments.

Kissinger's judgment on the Third-World-policy of some -- not "of most" -- European statesmen is justified. But no one should overlook the fact that Europe, on the basis of greater geographical and historical distance, can make specific contributions to an integrated policy, for example, in relation to Central America and the Contadora group.

In reply to Kissinger's suggestion of making a European the supreme commander of the NATO forces in Europe (SACEUR), I am still of the opinion that this function requires an American, because in a crisis only he has weight with the American President, weight that for good reasons no European could have. The first reason for this is that the SACEUR is also the national supreme commander of the American forces in Europe. Then come his exact knowledge of both continents, his knowledge of the global, strategic situation. Finally, his word as an American has a generally stronger and more impressive effect in the face of the great power of the President than would that of a European. The fact that the supreme commander of NATO is an American also strengthens the credibility of the alliance.

In contrast to Kissinger, I think that a European should remain the NATO general secretary, because he can articulate much better the stronger political effect of the Soviet threat on Europe, and also the psychology and the mentality of the Europeans, because he can speak more strongly to the European conscience and better coordinate their political desires than could an American.

Kissinger's suggestion that "Europe" should "take over those armament control negotiations that are concerned with weapons deployed on European soil," seems unrealistic to me. Which Europe does he mean? A single European nuclear weapons state? Would not then in any case in the face of the inseparability of the security of the allied area, above all, however, of the decisive power of the U.S. weapons, a permanent consultation and coordination of the negotiating position with Washington be necessary? No matter how well-meaning Kissinger's suggestions for a strengthening of the procedural and organizational responsibility of "Europe" are -- they miss the essence of the problem.

Kissinger demands that "by the year 1990 Europe should take over the main responsibility for the conventional defense with ground troops." This suggestion is not realistic. The fact is that the Europeans already provide 90 percent of the land forces, 90 percent of the tank divisions, and 80 percent of the combat aircraft. In recent years the Europeans have made considerable efforts for the strengthening of the conventional combat strength of the alliance.

Precisely in Central Europe the multinational and integrated NATO force disposition is a visible sign of the solidarity of the alliance and its readiness to take on political and military risks and assignments. A possible attack against the Federal Republic of Germany would immediately meet allied troops and call forth the reaction of the whole alliance. A strong engagement of the allies on German soil in time of peace as well is absolutely necessary. Here the presence of U.S. ground forces -- particularly in the forward defense -- is of exceptional importance. It remains politically and militarily a vital necessity for the assurance of peace in Europe.

Kissinger's demand for the buildup of a "complete" conventional defense in Europe could be misunderstood to mean that NATO should answer every conventional attack only with conventional means. The result would be that the uncertainty of an aggressor about the course of the conflict and its result would diminish, and a conventional conflict would become calculable again and therefore more probable. Also, a purely conventional war of longer duration would have devastating results for Europe -- particularly for the two parts of Germany.

Finally one must consider: A purely conventional defense contains the danger that the bond of conventional and nuclear forces would be broken and the nuclear strategic potential of the U.S. would be uncoupled from Western Europe. This could lead a potential attacker to believe that the limitation of a conflict to Europe was possible, and the strategic unity of the alliance could be called in question.

Every weakening of the present defensive disposition of the alliance would lie neither in the interest of the Europeans nor the Americans. On the contrary: If the West Europeans, in spite of all efforts, were not in the position to improve their conventional combat ability to the extent demanded by Kissinger, the logical consequence would be a corresponding strengthening of the conventional U.S. land forces in Europe. A withdrawal of these troops, on the other hand, could either call more for an early use of nuclear weapons, or in the end it could mean the loss of Western Europe in case of an attack.

No matter how much I agree with Kissinger's demand for a strengthening of the European pillar of the alliance and for more West European initiative, I still think that every statement is problematic that could be misunderstood in the East (and in Western Europe) as a loosening or breaking of the close political and military alliance between Western Europe and the U.S. In the end it is the total potential of the alliance that has a deterrent effect and keeps the Soviet Union from exercising successful political pressure on Europe or even subduing it by military means.

9124

CSO: 3620/254



## GLISTRUP'S PARTY DISINTEGRATES; 'THE FREE DEMOCRATS' FORMED

Chairman, Other Leaders Desert

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 27 Apr 84 p 10

[Article by Solveig Rodsgaard: 'Feud Between Dissidents and Glistrup']

[Text] The dissidents from the Progressive Party have expressed strong criticism against Mogens Glistrup, and in the Folketing Ole Maisted wants to come to the aid of the government.

Three Progressive Party officials--national chairman V. A. Jakobsen, political spokesman Ole Maisted, and main steering committee member Lis Jensen--officially quit the party yesterday and announced the formation of a new party, to be called 'The Free Democrats.'

The official founding date for the new party will be on 5 May, but the three dissidents held a press conference yesterday to explain the reasons behind their break with the Progressives and their plans for the future. The press conference, which was held in the old Progressive Party caucus chamber, attracted quite a crowd and developed into an intra-party feud, since almost half of the persons in attendance were Progressive Party members from far and near, and they did not restrain themselves from participating in the discussion.

Main steering committee member Lene Glistrup showed up as well, in the middle of Ole Maisted's speech, drawing everybody's attention on herself and away from Ole Maisted.

The Free Democrats petitioned the Ministry of the Interior yesterday for permission to use the name. They also asked for the party abbreviation 'D,' "to stand for Democracy and for Denmark."

The reason behind the breakoff from the Progressive Party is Mogens Glistrup. "We have fought against Glistrup's plans to structure the party on a dictatorial basis. All of Glistrup's speeches about solid leadership point to only one conclusion: Glistrup as the final decision maker. This constant political wrangling will lead to the destruction of the Progressive Party. We

declare ourselves, therefore, in disagreement with Glistrup, and it is our desire that the leadership of the Free Democrats be based on resolutions which have not been treated sympathetically enough in the Progressive Party."

It is the opinion of the Free Democrats that they are based on the Progressive Party's original political ideals. For this reason, V. A. Jakobsen refuses to resign from his position on the Radio Committee or his seat on the Aalborg City Council. This has caused much dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Progressive Party.

As the representatives of the Free Democrats in the Folketing, Ole Maisted wants to come to the government's aid. "I won't vote for the government to be changed, because then they'd be forming up a cabinet of radicals," he said.

The main people behind the well-known meeting held in Herning in March by the moderates in the Progressive Party's ranks expressed their satisfaction with the new party, as well as their desires for the parties being able to work together well. They also sent flowers yesterday to the dissidents.

A poll taken among FRP district officials throughout the country was not as optimistic. Some were happy to hear of the break, since it would result in clearer lines of demarcation. Others preferred to wait until the official founding meeting on 5 May. A few individuals changed over to other parties. Anni Maisted, who is married to Ole Maisted and has a seat on the West Sjaelland District Council, has definitely decided to change over to another party; whereas Harald Jensen is waiting to see if the new party receives solid support.

Lise Simonsen

Mogens Glistrup's official comments on the split in the party indicated that he is pleased that V. A. Jakobsen, Ole Maisted and former party secretary Lise Simonsen have left the party. He characterized it as a "liberation" for the party, which could only result in further strengthening of the party in the long run.

Lise Simonsen is not satisfied with these statements. She says she has not deserted the Progressive Party. "Glistrup has played some dirty tricks on me through the years," she says. "But this one is the lowest yet. It might be his fondest dream to see me leave--but unfortunately I cannot fulfill it for him. I am a member of the Progressive Party and will remain one. I think that the split in the party is unfortunate, and I have tried to convince these people to stay with the party," says Lise Simonsen.

#### Paper Views 'Death Dance'

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 27 Apr 84 p 12

[Editorial]

[Text] Without treading on the toes of any former or current Progressive Party MPs, it must be allowable to demonstrate that it has not been on the tactical

level that the party has won its victories--neither in its relationships with other parties nor internally. It is downright boring, in the long run, to think back on all the times the party has been divided into factions. It is just about equally boring to take note of the party founder's--or any other past leader's--glee at having finally pushed the deadwood out of the ranks.

But now the ranks are so thinned out that they are hardly visible any more. Helge Dohrmann, in the course of his term as party leader, has managed to accelerate the disintegration of the party faster than any previous caucus chairman. His time to shine on the political game board was limited to a few days, in connection with the so-called "Rio Bravo" agreement. Since then, it has become clear to both friends and enemies of the party that he can't cut the mustard--neither at Christiansborg nor in his external activities. And the party's caucus group now has only four members of ordinary rank left. They tried out Ove Jensen, but found him too light-handed for caucus chairman. Kresten Poulsen is best at keeping things in a holding pattern. Pia Kjaersgaard is just keeping the bench warm for Mogens Glistrup. And how long will John Arentoft be able to stay in the caucus room with the others?

And that is the way things shake down. There is no foundation left to build on among the party's MPs, and there is no one who has any use for or any desire to build up any political structures on top of the ruins that remain. There is nothing left to build on from an organizational point of view either. Time and time again it has become obvious that V. A. Jakobsen has more influence with the party representatives than Mogens Glistrup has bothered to drum up for himself. How the various Progressive soldiers will form up this time, nobody can foresee. It won't go along with anybody's expectations, since the last party breakup turned out to have nothing to do with expectations (in the Horup sense) either. There is lots of conflict on the personal level, and there are no indications that this is bound to change any time soon.

And so it begins to look like the Progressive Party, for the first time since 1972, will be disappearing from the charts of the opinion poll researchers. The fate of the party is inexorably bound up with that of Mogens Glistrup, and both of their fortunes look like they are about to run aground. And so there is no real reason to expect, either, that the new party currently being formed will turn out to be viable. Ole Maisted does not look much like a political leader, and V. A. Jakobsen may possibly be capable of holding the troops together, but there isn't much of anybody left to carry out any orders on the political battlefield. It would have to be totally hopeless, since their battlecries would have to be made up of the political vocabulary wreckage left behind by Mogens Glistrup. The Progressive ideal is dying. Now they are stepping out the dance of death.

9584

CSO: 3613/146

## SORSA GOVERNMENT STAGGERS DESPITE WINS IN PARLIAMENT

## Coalition Composition Change Weighed

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 13 Apr 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Sorsa Readies Foundation for New Government"]

[Text] Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa has unexpectedly discussed the prospects of renewing his government. He believes it would be very fitting for all parties in the government to be prepared to consider both the content of the government policies as well as composition as soon as the municipal elections results are clear.

"That will be a good time to consider whether there are any new factors that would make it possible to broaden the government base to cover the two-thirds majority which is so essential in Finland. And each party could also give some thought to its team in the government," he says.

It seems the prime minister has in mind a clear-cut government renovation, not just an amplification to the government program as proposed only a month ago by party secretaries of the government parties.

This position can hardly be explained by the weariness and irritability which has been noticed plaguing the prime minister lately. It probably is not caused by the fall local elections, budget problems, or the government's internal personnel problems, which have been quite apparent in the political leadership of the Ministry of Social and Health Affairs. Ministerial disputes may soon quiet down thanks to the impending high level management appointment.

It is also difficult to believe that Prime Minister Sorsa would plan to revamp his government because of its general mien. The government has been able, after all, to raise its profile to an average level and achieve average accomplishments--despite its failure to reduce unemployment. The opposition has given it a hard time, as is usual, such as the current interpellation by the Conservative Party, but it has not hurt the government badly.

Presumably Sorsa's plans are rather a result of his penchant for top level leadership moves, and, on the other hand, of his desire to share political responsibility between more parties. He probably also has in mind some reforms advocated by Social Democrats which are impossible to execute because the present government base is too narrow, lacking the required majority.

Politically the most interesting idea of Sorsa's is broadening the government base--to what direction, he will not say. However, he has publicly referred to the direction of SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] and SKP [Finnish Communist Party] and has expressed his wish that the Communists would get their ranks in order so that they could participate in government. It does seem, though, that it is impossible for this wish to come true in the near future.

If Sorsa were to include the Conservative Party in the government, there would be an even stronger majority government. That, of course, is plausible as a parliamentary possibility, and in the light that the constitutional reform pushed by the Social Democratic Party does not seem to make any headway otherwise. However, that would mean a turn-around in regard to Sorsa's efforts to keep the two political alternatives separate under normal circumstances so that they would not get blurred. He could be tempted by the thought that the Conservatives might not put a high price for joining the government if asked.

#### Rural Party Testing Strength

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 14 Apr 84 p 9

[Article by Janne Virkkunen]

[Text] The fourth cabinet of the SDP [Finnish Social Democratic Party] Chairman Kalevi Sorsa should be pleased. It has done its job well: the budget has been accomplished, the two-year revenue package practically finished in spite of strikes, the new two-tier price system, devised to slow down milk production surplus under discussion in the parliament; a period of growth.

Thus, the parties in government, in close cooperation, should be able to fend off the scattered opposition's punches and with confidence proceed towards the municipal elections in October.

But this is not the case. The external image of the government is tattered: government business is not moving, government parties are snapping at each other in public, threatening with requests for information, etc.

All this has not gone unnoticed by the leader of the right-wing opposition, the Conservative Party, which made a request for information from the government at a very opportune time.

This action will give a heightened profile, as it is fashionable to say these days, for the conservative parliamentary group which has been napping and working on the social vacation pay issue for a very long time.

The request also works the other way. It forces the government to tighten its ranks.

#### SMP and Others

And they should be tightening their ranks because there are things going on in the parliament that have not been seen for a long time. The leading role on the parliamentary stage, and elsewhere also, is being played by SMP [Finnish Rural Party] which is making its partners in government very nervous.



It actually will be a small miracle if Sorsa does not reprimand the behavior of the Vennamo opposition in public as well as in private.

When examining the SMP action, one should bear two things in mind. The party's leadership duo, chairman Pekka Vennamo and party secretary Urpo Leppanen, are cabinet members. The parliamentary group is led by honorary chairman Veikko Vennamo, helped by the group's second largest term parliamentarian J. Juhani Korttesalmi.

This setup cannot but lead into controversy because Pekka Vennamo clearly sees the future of SMP as a party in government. Veikko Vennamo is an opposition spirit.

It was Veikko Vennamo and Korttesalmi playing the leads when the SMP parliamentary group this past week announced four bills to improve veterans' situation. Irritatingly, Korttesalmi also declared that the veterans' issue was going to be a cabinet level issue for the SMP next fall.

Also, the SMP representatives united with the Conservative Party to vote against the administration in the parliament's social and legislative committees. As far as the administration was concerned, the issues were not very important, but behavior like this is not expected from a government party. As a result, Pekka Vennamo gave a scolding to the parliamentary group on Friday for its opposition spirit.

Neither was the SMP parliamentary group satisfied with the two-tier milk price system proposal that the government had unanimously agreed to. Consequently, Reijo Enavaara, who is leaving the Parliament and going to Yleisradio [State Radio], put forth his own proposal.

Heimo Linna, candidate for vice chairman of the Center Party parliamentary group, also put forth his own proposal receiving support from his group.

These initiatives will not bring any results, but they tell a lot about the atmosphere between the parties in government and inside the administration.

#### KEPU and SDP

Relations between the two leading government parties, SDP and KEPU [Center Party], are not trusting. Kalevi Sorsa and Paavo Vayrynen have not been able to find a spirit of cooperation even after the winter's disputes. The SDP is annoyed by the fact that KEPU will not give its support to the unemployment security bill in the parliament.

SDP-KEPU relations are also strained because it was revealed that SDP is planning to postpone the third stage of the social security reform from beginning of next year to later on in the future. Chairman Kauko Juhantalo of the KEPU parliamentary group has stated that this will be a cabinet level issue.

The social democrats are getting themselves between a rock and a hard place as SDP has been the only party to support unemployment security reform as part of

the so-called Pekkanen solution. Increased strike fines as part of the revenue package, as demanded by employers, is now credited to Prime Minister Sorsa.

#### SDP and SKP

Communists are putting political pressure on the social democrats by accusing them of intentions or raising strike fines. And evidently not without results, as communists did well in the EKA (Workers' Cooperative Movement) elections, as well as in Social Democratic majority controlled Electrical Workers' League elections.

Communists made clear headway even if the Social Democrats' majority position was not being threatened. The final results, however, served as a reminder of mortality for the party at the helm of the government.

All parties in government admit the poor spirit within the administration. The approaching municipal elections naturally play a role in these developments. Partly this is due to the fact that there is no clear linear division between the left and the center in the government. SMP is not a trustworthy ally for either KEP or RKP [Swedish People's Party] nor SDP.

The situation has been discussed in a rather serious vein in the Social Democrats' party committee. It is obvious that SMP creates tensions within the RKP. The attitudes of the Central Party leadership and the party rank and file will be reflected at a meeting of the party commission in Helsinki in a couple of weeks.

#### Minister Makes Unity Appeal

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 Apr 84 p 9

[Text] Transportation Minister Matti Puhakka (SDP) appealed to all parties in government to stand united behind the revenue policy package.

"In parliament, no government party or a faction of a party must disagree with what has been decided by the cabinet. Changes to bills can be made during parliamentary debate only according to a procedure agreed to by all parties in government," Puhakka lectured to the Social Democrats' district meeting in Mikkeli on Saturday.

Puhakka was clearly pointing his finger at the Central Party and the Rural Party, whose representatives have made their own proposals for the two-tier price system for milk related to the revenue policy package.

"Every party in government should understand that the pledge for cooperation given earlier requires particular ability to accomplish issues such as the total revenue package," Puhakka stated.

According to Puhakka, KEPU seems to be under the impression that its best chance for success is to challenge the social democrats at every turn. "As



far as solid governmental cooperation is concerned, this kind of attitude is very dangerous," Puhakka said.

Puhakka condemned the Conservative Party as so politically immature that there is no realistic basis for serious discussions regarding cooperation in government with it.

#### Sorsa Attacks Coalition Partners

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 16 Apr 84 p 3

[Text] On Sunday Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa [Social Democratic Party] criticized government center groups, the Center Party, the Swedish People's Party, and the Rural Party, for mutual undermining to the effect that government cooperation is beginning to suffer. At the same time, Sorsa demanded that the parties in question return to fair and businesslike manner of cooperation.

"If the recent statement by the center groups was really meant to increase their cooperation, it has backfired. Now those same groups are competing as to who can inflict the most damage to the others to the effect that government cooperation is beginning to suffer," Sorsa stated at a Social Democratic Party district meeting in Kuopio on Sunday.

According to Sorsa, Social Democrats have not been party to such competition, "but neighbors have messed up our yard as well."

According to Sorsa, the well-known SDP motto "that's enough" must now be said to the civil war within the parties in government. "Social Democrats are not interested in government cooperation of the present style. If others want to continue in this manner, they'd better also ponder the question of on what base the government could function in the future," Sorsa stated.

Sorsa claims the administration has carried through its first year with honor and according to its plan.

"The events of the past few weeks may lead to a situation where the fruits of our hard labors are lost due to shortsighted attempts to gain political advantage," Sorsa said.

Pekka Vennamo, chairman of one of the parties scolded by Sorsa, demanded that solo performance and scoring points for individuals had to come to an end in his own party. "All representatives of the parties in government must stand behind the administration," Vennamo said on Sunday.

8200

CSO: 3617/142

## GISCARD ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS, COUPS, SOVIET INFLUENCE

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 20 Apr 84 pp 70-76

[Interview with Valery Giscard d'Estaing by Robert Lacontre; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] If one looks at a map of Africa, one notices that it is becoming redder and redder. When one visits it, it looks poorer and poorer. Mr President, is there a double African destiny?

[Answer] I believe that Africa is a continent hit hard by the crisis. When one looks at all parts of the world, it is Africa that is affected the most, especially with respect to revenue. It is a continent heavily in debt compared with its resources and often that debt is in strong currencies, mainly dollars, because of international aid. The increase in the price of the dollar compared with European currencies has resulted in an additional debt burden. At the present time, if one speaks in financial terms, it is a continent most of whose nations are on the brink of bankruptcy.

In addition, it is a continent that was politically abandoned by the preceding American administration. It was at that time and during that time that they let the Soviets get a foothold in Angola, when it would have been easy to oppose them. They were also allowed to exercise their influence over Ethiopia. If it had not been for France, if I had not reacted myself by deciding upon the Kolwezi operation -- which took three weeks, at the close of which the victorious French paratroopers returned to their base -- they would now be present in Zaire and therefore, in all of Central Africa. But that is the past. Today, we cannot say that Africa has become redder. The reddening of Africa took place between five and ten years ago. It is due to the Soviet penetration at the time of the Portuguese decolonization, then in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and the neighboring area. Please take note that it is penetration by the Soviet Union rather than of Marxism. Marxism has been tried in many states, but nearly everywhere, it has been rejected as a system. It is still brought up in speeches, but in concrete economic organization, it is scarcely noticeable.

If you look for the countries with Marxist economic structures in Africa, there is none among the larger ones, with the exception of Ethiopia, and among the smaller ones, it is often more a matter of appearance than reality. The causes of the Soviet advance were therefore the results of the Portuguese

decolonization and American weakness. The fact that the USSR did not make more progress had to do with the reaction of France, requested and backed by its African allies, and the inadaptation of Soviet Marxism to the problems of Africa.

That inadaptation is double. On the one hand, it is what you were telling me yourself concerning the bad human relations of the Soviets themselves -- or rather, of the Russians, the heirs of the founders of a great colonial empire -- with the peoples of the developing countries. Next you have the type of aid which they contributed and which did not meet needs. They mainly supplied military equipment, for which they charged very high prices. When they sent technicians, the latter remained isolated, living among themselves. They did not mix with the population. They did not train cadres for local activities.

The real image presented by Africa at the present time is that of a damaged continent rather than that of a red continent.

[Question] What do you think of the recent agreement of South Africa with Mozambique and Angola? It is truly a historic phenomenon, the Africa of apartheid which suddenly comes to an agreement with the Marxists and the pseudo Marxists. The Russians are even forced to leave because you know that KGB General Slovo, who was the only white at the head of the ANC, the African National Congress, the anti-South African terrorist movement, was kicked out by the Mozambicans.

[Answer] It is actually extremely striking because that agreement was signed with a country that placed itself at the head of the so-called progressive countries and was accompanied by very solemn demonstrations marking a total break with the past. One can easily see the causes. It is the economic disaster and very grave situation of Mozambique. It is also the fact that there were in the field, as you know, anticommunist soldiers who threatened the regime and who were supported from South Africa. It was an agreement of survival on the part of Maputo. Nevertheless, there is perhaps something more. One can observe certain developments in southern Africa, a certain idea of cohabitation that one can see progress, which has certainly not come to an end, but which marks an evolution compared with the previous state of mind.

[Question] In other words, there is a barrier to the Russians. It is a failure of Moscow's policy.

[Answer] It is a total failure of the Soviets.

[Question] Along this same line of ideas, Castro just told me three quite curious things: He is demanding a rapprochement with the United States, he is proposing a negotiated political solution in Central America, particularly for El Salvador and Nicaragua, which is quite astonishing, and he hinted that he could withdraw his troops from Africa, particularly from Angola. He says that he has even spoken with Angolan President De Santos. Is this not a test? I believe that if Castro speaks, the Russians are behind him. Because of their failures elsewhere, have the Russians not decided to give up Africa,

ready to return if there is a vacuum and therefore, to abandon it temporarily and make a deal with the Americans?

[Answer] The Soviets are bearing substantial international burdens. They are involved in military operations that are very costly from every standpoint, especially in Afghanistan. They have to support an active presence in certain countries that are unreliable for them in East Europe and they are involved in various operations in the world.. It is likely that their commitments of all kinds exceed their possibilities or, in any case, that they are a considerable drain on their resources at a time when they are facing serious economic difficulties. Consequently, they must have the idea of squeezing that part of their operation that does not appear to be significantly profitable. From this standpoint, it is likely that they consider the Angolan operation not to be essential for them.

[Question] Under such conditions, one might almost say that Africa is escaping from the hands of the Russians and the Americans. Africa remains for Europe.

[Answer] In spite of everything, there remains the case of the Horn of Africa. There, the decisions of the Soviets will certainly be weighed with great care because that region affects the Middle East.

[Question] You mean South Yemen and their military base in Aden, but even in Ethiopia, Mengistu seems more and more to want to get rid of the Russian control.

[Answer] Yes. What must be noted is that the American policy now being followed is for the first time more realistic, more professional, better conducted than during the disastrous period of the previous administration. American leaders who follow African affairs are more attentive, which means that American policy is now better adapted. On the other hand, one observes no major commitment of the United States toward Africa. There is a de facto situation that means that Africa is little concerned by the superpowers and that the continent that should normally care about it is Europe. Its policy would not be in competition with that of the others or that of the Soviets, who are in a decline, or that of the Americans, who are present but who have not manifested any desire to develop their commitments more substantially. It is a favorable circumstance for Europe. Unfortunately, West Europe is politically powerless and its resources are reduced by the crisis. In other words, at a time when Europe should have a much more active policy in Africa, it is in my opinion inadequate.

[Question] We shall return to this question. Have all the recent coups d'etat in Upper Volta, Nigeria, Guinea and Cameroon been spontaneous or controlled by the Russians?

[Answer] Spontaneous.

[Question] And yet, in Conakry it is known that five or six Soviet freighters entered the port the night before the coup, which could lead one to believe that Moscow is trying to use the events.

[Answer] The Russians exploit situations in which they see some possibilities. In the wake of the Portuguese decolonization, they had a policy of an active presence, including a military presence, but when there are events of internal politics, the latter generally have to do with the existing situation. For Guinea, for example, there were three causes: the profound economic failure of the regime, the long and very cruel oppression for years and the fact that the finally positive evolution of recent years was not accompanied by two things: It was first of all necessary to rehabilitate the economic situation because it is a rich country in a profound crisis and whose people were suffering. Next, an end had to be put to certain reprehensible actions because the regime remained extremely restrictive and political opponents were mistreated. I can speak of this because, after a great deal of difficulty, I managed to get the last French prisoners out of the sinister Boiro Camp and, with the aid of the Vatican and our excellent ambassador, Lewin, the bishop of Conakry, who had been imprisoned for years in a tiny cell with the sun beating on its metal door.

[Question] In that very poor and changing Africa, Europe would have a role to play, in your opinion, but do you believe for a single moment that France is effectively present there?

[Answer] Yes, for the time being. There is one thing I regret: what has happened to the French-African conferences. Those conferences were due to a move by President Pompidou. I made them permanent and institutional. I believe that it was a mistake to want to extend them to all of Africa and to judge their results on the number of participating countries. Their interest was thus diluted and we put ourselves on a level where France is no longer able to contribute resources or undertake action on a scale with the problems. When it was a matter of French-speaking African countries, we could imagine a certain number of structures for cooperation and development to which we could make a significant contribution. On a scale of all of Africa, it is clear that we do not have the means. That French-speaking unit was diluted -- when I say French-speaking, one could include the new Portuguese-speaking nations of West Africa that are very mingled with the life of their region -- but the fact of trying to move toward a continental concept was not a good choice.

[Question] Do you believe that it would be better to be more selective, in keeping with our means?

[Answer] Without a doubt.

[Question] Is there a difference, in the final analysis, between French-speaking countries and English-speaking countries?

[Answer] There is a difference of political and cultural traditions. Regarding traditions, the leaders and a large part of the administrative officials were trained by our political and administrative life. There is a community of methods and attitudes that is substantial. Between the economic and administrative officials and their French colleagues, there is a very easy and finally, very positive dialogue.



[Question] Is it true that the English-speaking countries have experienced much more unrest than the French-speaking countries, even considering the most recent events?

[Answer] No, it is different. There are English-speaking countries that have been very stable. The major problem of Africa will always be a problem of succession. Kenya was stable under President Kenyatta; Zambia will be stable as long as there is President Kaunda. Western-type elections -- that is, universal suffrage measured in the number of votes -- do not automatically ensure that succession. They are successions in which there must be a mixture of a consensus and a recognition of the personal abilities of the individual in question. You mentioned several coups, in Guinea or Upper Volta. There have also been many changes in the past in Benin and Chad, French-speaking countries. The difference between the two types of nations does not have to do with political stability.

Two things characterize the French-speaking countries: First of all, their leaders, at least those of the first generation, participated in French political life directly and sometimes even in the government. Consequently, they do not have the same kind of distrust and frustration that some leaders in English-speaking Africa may have experienced. The French-speaking countries were the only ones to sit in Parliament, which created an extremely positive level of human relations. Second, the training of the intermediate level of the administration was much better in the French-speaking countries than anywhere else. Finally, we set up common monetary institutions for the two major African units in the West and Center. Mali is going to join the West African association and I am happy about it. That is very positive. That has constituted a very important infrastructure for contact and institutional meetings, which guaranteed total convertibility of currencies.

[Question] Do you not believe that in our approach to Africa, there is perhaps an error on our part of always trying to export our democracy and perhaps even export French-type socialism now?

[Answer] I believe that the mistake is not in trying to export democracy, which is obviously a regime of progress and humanism, but of trying to export "our" democracy. There can be types of democracies in these nations that do not follow our rules, which are themselves extremely recent. I would remind you, for example, that the right to vote for women in France is only 40 years old, that voting based on the ownership of property, limited to the wealthy, was not eliminated until the 19th century, that the president of the republic has not always been elected by universal suffrage. There are all kinds of models of democracy and the African model is something that must allow for dialogue, colloquiums, the traditions of the African societies.

There is a basic difference between personal regimes in which power is seized and regimes in which there are important and influential structures of dialogue and give-and-take. You have a very good example of this, which is the Ivory Coast. Democracy in the Ivory Coast has more to do with the fact that these bodies for debate are largely used to release tension than with the simple use of suffrage. I believe that just as we must be attached to the existence

of an African democracy, we must also understand that that democracy must include cultural aspects peculiar to Africa and must not necessarily imitate our own techniques.

[Question] But does this search for democracy not risk being shaken by the conditions of the economic crisis? You speak of the Ivory Coast, but is it not also on the brink of exploding? If the Ivory Coast, which is an important pillar of West Africa, collapses, the whole ensemble is threatened.

[Answer] These African democracies are facing two problems: The first, I repeat, is the problem of succession. It is clear that in Africa today, this cannot be reduced to universal suffrage because there are so many other factors that come into play: ethnic and tribal factors, the geographic structure of the nations, the distribution between areas with very different characteristics. The traditional majority voting will not provide the whole answer. This means that if successions are not planned for, do not take place in a harmonious fashion, crises often occur. You have seen the case of Cameroon, which is typical. That is a succession which in principle should have been very simple because the president decided to leave his place to his prime minister. And yet, we subsequently witnessed the death sentence of the former president and disturbances having to do with regional and religious antagonisms. The second difficulty is the economic crisis and its effects on the people. Both frequently lead to a power takeover by the military.

[Question] Will small countries such as Togo, for example, be able to survive alongside monsters such as Nigeria?

[Answer] These large states are not homogeneous. Our view of borders is a European view. Actually, these borders are porous. Except for the coastal borders, the rest are scarcely marked on land. Furthermore, these great units are often, as in the case of Nigeria, built upon a federal model. They are actually very broken up. I do not believe that one can make an absolute judgment in terms of the size of the countries, but the existence of these nations must correspond to an entity that itself has some determination to maintain its unity. In addition, a country must have the two or three basic resources needed to have a realistic prospect for development. What you and I have now seen in Togo is a solid political creation based on a determination to have development and the existence of substantial mining and tourist resources.

[Question] Let us turn to the OAU. Is that enormous organization truly useful?

[Answer] It is not up to us to say. It is up to the Africans. That there should be an annual meeting of Africans is totally normal. Africa's problem is also that of the co-existence on that continent of Black Africans and Arab Africans with different cultures and views. The center of gravity of the Arab world is not in Africa. Consequently, the African Arab countries look abroad and in the end, feel closer in their decisions to the Middle Eastern countries than to other African countries. Some of these Arab-African countries, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, for example, themselves belong by history,



economy and culture to the Mediterranean grouping. These countries can be removed from certain preoccupations of the rest of the African continent. As a result, there is basically in the OAU a cohabitation that does not always correspond to an analogy of attitudes. This being the case, I do not believe it is worth the trouble to try to give it extremely formal structures. Experience has shown that they could not be very effective. On the other hand, the fact that there is a meeting, an analysis, every year is certainly desirable.

[Question] I regularly meet with all the chiefs of state in the world, especially Arab chiefs of state, and we always speak of the problem of Islamic fundamentalism. That fundamentalism seems to be spreading more and more, moving toward Black Africa. What is your opinion on this subject?

[Answer] Actually, Islam is spreading in Black Africa. It is difficult for us to judge its fundamentalism because one would have to truly live with those involved. I often ask myself the question and I observe that Islam is progressing in the countries on the Guinean Gulf. I cannot say whether this is what one calls fundamentalism -- that is, a very strict application of the rules of Islam. What is certain is that the Islam fundamentalists are themselves spreading, but I do not believe that the local population is evolving in that direction.

[Question] Are these African chiefs of state you know very reliable?

[Answer] There are among them men who are some of the most remarkable in the world. President Houphouet-Boigny is certainly one of the most outstanding and wisest statesmen and who is highly cultivated himself. I could say the same thing about the northern chiefs of state, such as President Bourguiba or the king of Morocco. In the first generation of these great leaders, I also think of President Eyadema, whose courage I observed in the difficult negotiations on the unity of Chad, or former President Ahidjo.

It is now the second generation that will be interesting to observe. I believe it will be less internationalist and much more centered on the domestic problems of the nations that are now a priority. Kountche, president of Niger, seems to me to be typical of this category.

[Question] My question referred to the fact that public opinion tends to believe that many African leaders are incompetent, not well trained, corrupt. All this confuses problems somewhat. Actually, what you are telling me is that you are much more optimistic than some observers.

[Answer] One has to be frank. First of all, there is a trace of racism in some attitudes. In addition, we forget our own history -- that is, we forget that when our own nations were formed, they were formed with great centralization of power and even resources around their leaders. Look at what the levy for the construction of the Palace of Versailles meant for France! And we have difficulty understanding, because we no longer feel it, the need to assert one's identity. In order for a leader of a country that was for a long time colonized to feel recognized and accepted, he needs a certain number of attributes. If they use presidential planes, it is not only out of a desire

for personal luxury and comfort, but also to feel on an equal footing with other leaders in the world. It is a question of status and the judgments we make are often simplistic and excessive. One must judge presidents by their way of governing, of handling a situation, as President Houphouet-Boigny does, by the contact they have with the population, the type of bonds they develop and maintain with officials, and so on. Take the example of President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, who belongs to the new generation. It is a man who has to face a very difficult economic situation because of the crisis and the drought. He demonstrates an exemplary capacity for work, contact and judgment.

[Question] We are coming to the heart of the problem: the economy, the North-South dialogue. What is left of it? What can one do to help Africa to emerge from its underdevelopment and the threat of crisis? This is a great economic problem. We have surplus production of everything. That surplus production must go somewhere. If Africa remains poor, it cannot be a customer. That poverty is consequently a danger to us. It takes away our customers and customers become rare. On the human level also, it is not a good solution. The North-South dialogue drags on. Nothing is happening.

[Answer] Indeed, nothing is happening and no one is interested any longer.

[Question] The matter is serious then.

[Answer] Yes, but you are saying that to someone not in power. I launched the North-South dialogue in 1975 and 1976. It was under special circumstances, the oil crisis. That oil crisis was intolerable for the African countries that were not producers. Except for a few producers such as Nigeria, Gabon and now the Congo, those nonproducer countries were in a situation of economic distress because they have to bear enormous transport costs for all their supplies.

The North-South dialogue was both a dialogue between producer countries and consumers, on the one hand, and between industrialized countries and developing nations.

We succeeded in initiating that dialogue. It led to an impasse for two reasons, in my opinion: the first, because the large industrialized countries did not invest the determination and attention one might have desired, especially because of their own economic difficulties. They could do two things: increase aid -- that is, budgetary aid -- and open their markets. They had budget problems and obviously, the fact of opening up their markets at a time when they were themselves in a situation of unemployment and difficulties, posed political and social problems. Consequently, the action of the industrialized countries was checked. In addition, the developing countries let themselves be manipulated by the "maximalists" -- that is, they tried to take overall positions and express collective demands, while posing questions that a goodly number of wealthy countries, especially the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, were ducking. From that time on, there was not adequate support for a dialogue. Nevertheless, that direction must be resumed because it responds to a historic need.

I have always thought that dialogue should one day be fragmented because there is no overall world solution. On the other hand, there could be regional dialogues. It is obvious, for example, that Latin America is closely linked with the economic life of the United States. The problem of Africa is should normally handled by Europe.

There is another difficulty, one formidable, having to do with the concentration of populations in urban areas where they are culturally alienated and have extremely poor chances of employment. This means that there must be development operations aimed at keeping the people where they are, which the great projects and investments of 1960-1970 did not do.

[Question] Some say that that is somewhat our fault, that through the ties we made to develop our commercial trade, we caused Black leaders to choose single-crop cultures, large plantations such as peanuts, cacao, and so on, and that in the end, it is perhaps not the right solution for achieving self-sufficiency.

[Answer] That is true and it has to do with the fact that the general machinery pushes one toward this type of operation. The general machine first of all means the credit system.

This system prefers to finance major projects; it is easier to do. And the enterprises of all kinds that are interested in these operations also normally prefer large projects. Consequently, the entire financial and technological machine is geared in this direction.

Furthermore, since it was a matter of catching up with industrial structures existing elsewhere, one was always behind. In other words, one was behind in doing that which was already getting old and out of fashion elsewhere. But it serves no purpose to dwell on this criticism of the past. The few paths to follow now include the following:

It is very important to maintain a system of monetary stability and convertibility in Africa. This is one of the things making it possible to provide a solid foundation for relatively stable development. In this connection, the existing monetary institutions must be preserved.

Aid from the Western nations for industrial development is probably not what our machinery is capable of supplying most effectively because, on the one hand, we do so based on credits and create additional indebtedness for these countries. In addition, it is often based on our interests rather than theirs. I believe that in the future, Europe should concentrate on infrastructures that it would finance by direct aid rather than by loans. Any economic operation necessarily requires credits, while the installation of infrastructures such as roads, telecommunications and some sanitary equipment can be financed by the states. This should essentially be a period of direct aid for the infrastructure.

[Question] The public as a whole still does not understand the need to help Africa in order to preserve our future. There are actually two opposing

ideas. On the one hand, one cannot feed everyone, all these countries with swarming populations because of unbridled growth. On the other hand, when one sees the mess of our societies, when our farmers, because of domestic political struggles, dump millions and millions of eggs on the ground, while millions of children are starving to death in Africa, there is perhaps a middle ground. All that bothers us and overwhelms us. Are we not doomed, in order to ensure our own survival, to make a greater effort to help Africa?

[Answer] Yes, we must make a greater effort, an aid effort dealing with the infrastructures. In contrast, we must leave it up to local areas to finance, choose and carry out economic operations because they will then be much more diversified operations.

The credit mechanism should be more developed locally and made available for local projects.

We cannot help Africa by putting it in debt.

We shall one day have to find solutions together. Imagining that Africa could pay back its existing debts and still contract new loans is a mistake!

One must consider the situation of each country, depending on whether or not it produces oil, consider its standard of living, its ability to pay back borrowed money. One must have a clear and effective policy instead of letting people believe that the debt will be absorbed by consolidations and delayed payment.

[Question] Mr President, there is still talk of the special bonds linking Europe with Africa, but it is especially we, the French, who think like that. One has trouble imagining the Italians, Germans or Spaniards being so interested in that continent. It is mainly we, by virtue of our history, the presence of thousands and thousands of French, our commercial ties. Do other Europeans not see things differently?

[Answer] Certain countries make efforts and for different reasons. The Netherlands make efforts for humanitarian reasons. Italy is aware of North and East Africa; Belgium of Central Africa.

[Question] But it is not quite simply a day-to-day awareness?

[Answer] As is always the case, there is a share of commercial awareness. It is normal in any activity for one to have certain elements that motivate more than others. The two driving forces concerning Africa are France and Great Britain. They always have been. But when we pose these problems to the European Community, we find a positive response. I launched the idea of a special development program for Africa, which was being set up. It was a kind of Orsec Plan for a damaged continent. It was long and difficult, a program in which the large Western countries would have made their contribution directly for a certain period, without going through international institutions, in direct concertation with the participating parties.

[Question] To respond to certain detractors, certain political parties or certain ideologists, in your opinion, is Africa more or less exploited than before?

[Answer] On the whole, Africa is less unfortunate than before. In all areas, it has made very great progress that one must not forget, despite the severe consequences of the crisis and the drought. If you take all the aid it has received and still receives, it is clear that Africa is not exploited. In certain projects, certain achievements, one finds here and there a few considerations of interests not directly linked to the interests of Africa.

I regularly return there once or twice a year. I try to keep personal relations with African chiefs of state. I believe that Africa is now being neglected by the West. The best thing is a certain vague benevolence. You observed it on the spot. One does not see very intense interest and participation. That is a serious mistake because in the end, the North-South dialogue must be created by a kind of natural association. It is obvious that sooner or later, for example, the countries of Southeast Asia will take more interest in the developing countries located in their region. In the final analysis, it is Europe and Europe alone that has a natural vocation to truly aid Africa. It must do so while forgetting the recent colonial past. If it wants to devote an adequate share of its resources, if it makes a great contribution to its development, that could even mean it would be rendering a great service to itself.

[Question] Therefore, there is a kind of natural division of the planet and France has everything to gain by helping an ally, an increasingly important collaborator.

[Answer] I would say a partner, but there is a final condition: One must love Africa. Aid to Africa must not be viewed as a cynical operation. Africa expects something even stronger than friendship.

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CSO: 3519/311



## REASONS FOR CASTRO'S PROPOSED PARIS TRIP EXAMINED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Apr 84 pp 120-124

[Article by Robert Lacontre]

[Text] Why has Fidel Castro decided to mount one of his patented "charm offensives" in Paris? The man whose old ambition was to bottle his revolution for export is playing the "quiet man" these days. He is calling for negotiated political settlements in Central America. He would like to improve his relations with the United States. He hints that he might withdraw his troops from Africa. In Paris, his aim is to restore the vanished lustre to his image.

Castro's coming to Paris? That's what his Foreign Minister, Isidoro Malmierca is here for: to engage in secret talks, what he will be talking about in Madrid before setting out on a tour of several African nations in the light of the "anti-Russian" agreement recently reached between South Africa and its Marxist neighbors, Angola and Mozambique.

Against this background, the interview the "Maximum Leader" has just granted the American weekly PARADE warrants scrutiny under the magnifying glass.

Out of the blue, he hands us a fake revelation when he tells us that Kennedy had pledged to withdraw his nuclear missiles deployed in Turkey against Russia in exchange for removal of the Russian missiles installed in Cuba. We already knew this, and Henry Kissinger confirms it on page 665 of his book, "The White House: 1968-1973."

"El Jefe" adds that it was the Russians' idea to put their missiles in Cuba in the first place so as to ward off an invasion, and it was the Russians, nobody else, who decided to dismantle the missile sites following a bilateral agreement with the Americans, without even bothering to let the Cubans know what was

going on. He adds: "We never dreamed that the Russians would pull out their missiles. The thought never entered our revolutionary minds.... We were really angry because that agreement (1962) had been arranged without our having anything to say about it and without our even having been consulted."

He then goes on to insist that the Russians were the only ones who "serviced" those missiles -- bringing down a U2 spy plane -- while the Cubans had nothing but conventional antiaircraft artillery that could hit only low-flying aircraft.

Far more significant is the long digression about Kennedy. "Had the Russians let us in on the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement, John and I could have worked out a solution to our problems... I judge Kennedy in the light of everything that happened between Cuba and the United States, beginning with the Bay of Pigs. I do not consider Kennedy responsible. Operation "Giron" was devised and put together under the Eisenhower administration. At that time Kennedy was, in my opinion, a man brimming with idealism, with youth. I do not think he was an unscrupulous man. He was very young, without political experience, but at the same time very intelligent and well informed. He had a remarkable personality."

Castro then tells us that the young American president actually intended to enter into a dialogue with him. "We were talking about it on 22 November 1963, when we got the news of his death. For us, for Cuba, for our relations with the United States, his assassination was a dreadful blow, something that really set us back." You can hardly get more charming than that!

#### Some Highs, Some Lows

As for the Reagan administration's allegations that Cuba could pose a threat to its giant neighbor, "they are absolutely absurd, ridiculous," says Castro. "All our weapons are defensive. Our air force cannot even reach Florida.... It is just as ridiculous to think that Nicaragua or El Salvador or any other country in the region could possibly threaten the United States... They are only poor little countries." This is why great America must rethink its entire policy in Central America, must respect the Cuban revolution, lift the blockade, re-establish diplomatic relations, and develop trade and economic relations. The conflicts in Central America can be settled by negotiation.

"In Salvador, it seems to me that the idea of a negotiated political solution should be agreed to, a formula under which all parties would make concessions and thus arrive at a satisfactory solution. In my view, this is still possible. I know that the rebels" (that was either a slip of the tongue or a bad connection) "in Salvador, although they are stronger now than they have ever been, are willing to negotiate... Without the support of the United



States the Salvadoran army would already have surrendered because its morale is dropping lower and lower."

The "maximum leader" goes on to talk about the help Cuba has lent to some countries "because they were being attacked." "Angola was invaded by South Africa. Ethiopia was fending off a foreign attack whose objective was to make the country fall apart." He adds quickly that Ethiopia had far less need of help now, and hints that, were Angola no longer threatened, Cuba could pull its troops out of there. That possibility had even been explored at the time of Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos' most recent visit to Havana.

This is where Fidel launches into an absolutely flawless confession: "Cuba has suffered because we tried too hard to implant full-fledged communism without first going through the socialist phase... For 25 years we have had our highs and our lows... I think it was a mistake to try to skip [some of] the stages... Our own history has shown us that we tried to go too far in establishing communist distribution patterns, whereas the right approach really would have been to start with socialist patterns of distribution." In passing, though, he cites the achievements made in the areas of public health, food production, etc. "We have 25 years' experience behind us now and we still have all the exuberance of the first day," and he quotes Hemingway who, he admits, "had a degree of influence on me."

Then, returning suddenly to relations with the USSR, he says: "We shall never be like Sadat," referring to Egypt's expulsion of its Soviet advisers in 1972. He does not omit the ritual tip of the hat to the French Revolution. We have won liberty, he says, in substance. As for equality and fraternity, they will come with socialism. And he ends with a warning: "Ideologically, Marxist-Leninist doctrine prevails in Cuba. This is why we tolerate no political or even artistic dissidence."

#### A Breathing-Space

An about-face? A determined effort to seduce us with his charm? In 1967, Fidel Castro tried to disengage himself from the Soviets. Moscow quickly whipped him back into line. Today, this back-door appeal to the United States, which had perforce to be approved at the Kremlin, probably has several axes to grind. All is not for the best in the best of all possible worlds in Cuba these days. The American blockade is a heavy burden, and Soviet Russia must pick up a very substantial tab to support Cuba (for one thing, the USSR provides Cuba with all its oil supplies). Insofar, therefore, as the USSR is constrained to practice austerity because its economy is lagging and because its headlong race to build more weapons than it needs is costing it more and more dearly, while its more or less marginal allies, mainly Africans, are taking their distance from the big protector because it has hardly any more money to hand out to them any more,

Moscow might very well be starting a (momentary) pullout from the Caribbean and from the Dark Continent. Even with creative accounting, the bill for keeping those 30,000 Cuban troops in Africa is hardly enough to offset the total costs of keeping Cuba alive.

Better US-Cuban relations would ease the squeeze on the Soviet purse. Lenin used to say that there were times when one had to back off. Furthermore, a touch of disengagement by the Soviets in Africa and Central America could facilitate an American disengagement in Asia, especially in Afghanistan and Iran. That would let the two superpowers make a deal behind the backs of the lesser ones. There is also the fact that Moscow is well aware that Fidel Castro no longer has much of a chance of finding an export market for his revolution, and that the Third World and the non-aligned nations are extremely sensitive to Havana's unswerving commitment to the Soviets. Castro needs a fresh layer of gold-leaf on his image. That is why he is so eager to come to Paris. The American intervention in Grenada caught him with his hand in the cookie-jar. And lastly, on the eve of the American elections, a moderate Castro, a good boy again, could make it easier for the Democrats to beat the hard-liner Reagan. The historic chief of the Cuban Revolution is in no position to play the lone ranger, but he could easily afford to treat himself to a modest breathing-space. That is certainly why he talks so earnestly about a negotiated solution. And that is also what he will be saying to his French socialist friends who are going to help him clean up his image. That is why he is so set on coming to Paris.

#### PHOTO CAPTION

I saw Castro in Havana last year on the first of May. He was impressive, heavy. He impressed us with his legendary bulk. Today he has lost at least 15 kilos. Is the "lider maximo" sick?

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CSO: 3519/315

## JOSPIN DISCUSSES EUROPEAN ELECTIONS, EEC, PSF-PCF TIES

Paris LIBERATION in French 16 Apr 84 pp 10-11

[Interview with Lionel Jospin, first secretary of the PS [Socialist Party], by Eric Dupin and Jean-Michel Helvig; date and place not specified]

[Text] Lionel Jospin remains a socialist. In this interview with LIBERATION the first secretary of the PS forcefully rejected the idea that the government has begun a "change of policy." He also rejected any "theory of stagnation" and hoped for an early resumption of economic growth.

With this purpose in mind the leader of the Socialist Party list in the forthcoming European elections called for coordination between the economic policies followed in the EEC. Jospin also deplored the zigzag policy followed by the Communist Party and stated that the PS would react by "exposing the contradictions" of its partner in government. The socialist leader finally stated: "If we should have to govern alone, we will do so, but this is not desirable."

[Question] How do you feel about the miraculous leap of nine percentage points in the government's popularity rating as reflected in the latest SOFRES [French Opinion Polling Company] survey published in FIGARO MAGAZINE?

[Answer] Miracles are not my specialty. This "leap," as you put it, shows, I think, that the beginning of the campaign by the French socialists has been noticed by public opinion. It's a good sign.

[Question] Will this campaign be highly personalized--towards you?

[Answer] Any national campaign is necessarily personalized. When we have to face Mrs Simone Veil, whose media image is very strong, why shouldn't we have another personality and temperament? However, don't worry, I won't be alone in this campaign.

[Question] Do you already have a plan to draw the French opposition parties onto the European stage?

[Answer] I am not sure that the "big shots" of the French Right are as much concerned with that as they are with making sure that the head of their electoral list should be the winner, in a major battle of domestic politics.

I will carry on my campaign on a European theme. The threats which affect the position of Europe in the world and its standard of living involve stakes of historic importance. Suppose that American and Japanese economic growth continues over a long period (say, a growth rate of 5 percent annually for 10 years) and that, at the same time, Europe resigns itself to zero growth. Then see the result at the end of that period. The example of Great Britain is there to demonstrate the effects of an industrial decline on the living standards of a people.

[Question] What relationship does that have with the election of the European Parliament, which has very little power?

[Answer] Voting for the European Parliament means showing that the people want Europe to belong to them. Furthermore, if they vote socialist, this means standing by the side of a French president who is fighting to ensure that Europe will keep its own sense of destiny.

The philosopher Husserl once wrote: "The greatest danger facing Europe is fatigue." We have to tell our people, the French: look out! We are part of an old continent. If we go to sleep, we will be left behind. As for me, I don't want Europe to become a peninsula at one end of Asia. I want Europe to remain a world center.

[Question] When we speak of European growth, we are referring to the interdependence of the economic policies followed by the different countries. Won't effective coordination of policies be more difficult because of the differences in orientation of the governments of the EEC?

[Answer] The EEC has always operated with socialists on the one side and conservatives on the other side. The simple fact of the matter is that they are not always in the same place. For example, Franco-German friendship is not at stake in terms of the respective domestic policies of the two governments.

More basically, let us think of this. It is true that the policies of Margaret Thatcher and of Francois Mitterrand are very different. However, British and French society remain very similar. There is no longer any real "break" in the European model. It is in our common interest to develop a concerted program of economic recovery. In any case, that is the view of all European socialists.

[Question] However, today we seem to be very far from the 1979 PS slogan, "A united Europe will be socialist or it will never come to be."

[Answer] The only reasonable, historical prospect for our continent, including Eastern Europe, seems to me to be democratic socialism. However, that is not the task of the moment. Our immediate objective must be to prove that there cannot be a united, conservative Europe. Europe--that is, the existence of an organized European Economic Community--is a denial of the ultra-liberal doctrines presently

in vogue. If the EEC were to become a simple, free-trade zone, it would be economically dismembered by the United States. In this sense only the socialists are capable of giving a new thrust to Europe.

[Question] For the moment, the formation of a united Europe has broken down.

[Answer] No, since the summit meeting in Brussels, it has begun to move again. However, it is like a motor which is not functioning on all of its cylinders. We wouldn't have to accomplish all of that much--settlement of the British contribution to the community budget, for example--to dispose of contentious issues and begin to move forward once again.

[Question] Doesn't the difference in timing between the economic policies followed in the different European countries --France is behind the others in adopting policies of restricting demand--make the coordination which you desire a rather uncertain prospect?

[Answer] Several of our European partners have carried out a policy of brutal deflation. They have lowered their living standards and have gnawed away at their social security programs. That is not what we are doing at present. Our course of treatment is milder. It is normal that this should take time. Perhaps there is where the difference in timing is to be found.

[Question] Even so, you have not stopped the growth of unemployment?

[Answer] That is a fact. That is why a concerted recovery program at the European level would make things easier for us.

[Question] Will you campaign on the theme of a common European defense?

[Answer] That is a theme which I would approach with a great deal of caution. The problems of defense, that is, those involving war and peace, deserve more than the superficial treatment given them by our opponents. Mrs Veil speaks of German reunification as if it were enough to snap your fingers to achieve it. As for Jacques Chirac, he wants to associate the Federal Republic of Germany with nuclear weapons, without worrying about colliding in that area with an international taboo resulting from World War II, and which is extremely powerful.

Let's not follow a course of moving forward in the "military" area, when our economic and social problems have not been brought under control.

[Question] Would you be in favor of creating a European circulating currency?

[Answer] Reducing the power of the U. S. dollar, reestablishing an international monetary system based on rules accepted by all concerned, making more use of the Ecu [EEC Unit of Account] as a means of payment, it seems to me, are the needs of the moment. However, it would be something else to have a European currency generally accepted. That would affect the sensitive question of sovereignty.

[Question] How do you view the change in economic policy which is now becoming increasingly clear?



[Answer] There have been adjustments made in our overall economic policy. In terms of the range of instruments of economic policy, it is clear that we are pressing down harder on some things than on others. As a practical matter, I have no problem about admitting that.

However, why is it necessary for so many commentators, including Serge July, your editor, to accuse us of changing our very soul, of completely reversing our course, of renouncing what we stand for? Isn't that because they have changed themselves?

[Question] If, at the request of the CNPF [National Council of French Employers], you had proposed at a Socialist Party congress exempting certain companies from the payment of social security taxes, as will be the case in Lorraine, what an uproar there would have been in the hall!

[Answer] That is because you are confusing a general, theoretical proposition and a concrete, limited act of government. Lorraine is suffering from the world steel crisis and its dependence on that industry. We want to help it to move progressively away from this "iron lung." The action which you mention was not taken in the interest of the bosses but rather in the interests of Lorraine. To encourage companies to establish themselves there or to hire additional workers in existing plants, we could just as well have taken the cost of their raw materials into account.

That is why I disagree with the philosophy behind the recent statements made by Gattaz. And I ask him the following question: are the employers in my country capable of doing business and making their plants function without demanding more help from the state (which they criticize elsewhere) and without raising further questions about the social security laws? In short, do employers know their business?

As far as we are concerned, there would be a change in policy if we said that we have to reduce social security taxes by reducing social security protection. There would be a change in policy if the government accepted the suggestion made by management to facilitate lay-offs of workers under the pretext of favoring employment.

[Question] Did the presence of Georges Marchais at the demonstration by the Lorraine steelworkers surprise you?

[Answer] I think that the trade union members who wanted to retain a trade union flavor at this demonstration were the most surprised. In short, this was just another political zigzag.

[Question] What will happen after this demonstration? Do you think that the government has said everything that it had to say?

[Answer] I don't think that the plan will be changed. On the other hand, the details of its provisions should be discussed with the steelworkers. It is essential to show them that industrial reconstruction is possible.

I recall discussions which I had some months ago with steelworkers at Gandrange and Hayange. I have heard those who have spoken on television over the past few days. One thing struck me once again in what the workers said: the conviction that they will not be able to do anything other than what they are now doing. I think that this involves a cultural problem which affects the world of the workers and all of Lorraine. We have to break that conviction, that lack of confidence, that resignation to the impossibility of change. However, we certainly won't change that with a few good words. We must turn to action over the next 2 year.

[Question] Despite everything, hasn't there been some evolution in your economic views? The view which you have of companies, for example, has changed quite a bit.

[Answer] That is true. The discovery of publicly-owned companies has brought us closer to the industrial world. And the practice of government has forced us to deal with private employers. However, getting to know the ground better does not inevitably require changing our course. Our major objectives remain as they were. They cannot be replaced by a hastily-formulated theory of stagnation.

[Question] A policy of tight controls is only a temporary measure?

[Answer] Don't tight controls mean austerity?

[Question] You get a taste for that.

[Answer] When the time comes, economic recovery should also be carried out under tight controls. I know that, over the short term, it is not possible to return to balanced growth by opening up the gates of purchasing power. That would immediately involve a leap into inflation and an external trade deficit. However, there is a difference between that and enclosing ourselves in an historical perspective of stagnation. As far as I am concerned, that is the meaning of the effort which we are making in terms of production.

[Question] There are various opinions in terms of that difference. Jean Poperen has said publicly that it would be time to start the economic machine going again in 1985.

[Answer] There is a time when that would be necessary. I hesitate to fix the date in advance.

[Question] Will the PS hold a kind of Bad Godesberg conference\* to bring its ideology and its governmental practice into phase?

[Answer] The Socialist Party is not a ministry. The government cannot follow the economic policies of the PS, such as they are. And it is up to the party itself to carry out its own adaptation to events, like a living organism. To gain power,

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\* At the time of the Bad-Godesberg conference in 1959 the SPD (German Social Democratic Party) abandoned any reference to Marxism and opted for reformism in a resolute way.

the German social democrats thought they should carry out a policy "revision" at Bad Godesberg. This was their affair. We have had a "renovation" of our policy at the PS Conference in Epernay. The only changes we had to make were those which reality imposed on us. I don't think that we have to concede that there has been the kind of change in our very soul which is presently being claimed with regard to us.

[Question] Haven't the socialists always been afraid of being accused of treason by the communists?

[Answer] I am like many socialists: I am neither hypnotized nor filled with guilt in terms of the PC [Communist Party] because the values which my party stands for seem to me to have much more of an historic future than the views held by the Communist Party. We don't have to drag behind us the ball and chain of the bureaucratized and fossilized world of the communist countries.

We are politically independent and the majority party in the government alliance. First of all, we don't have to be concerned about what the communists say. We have to be careful about what the various social groups are thinking, to which we are closely attached. How can we explain to the workers that this difficult phase, this inadequate progress and even these partial steps backwards, are inevitable in order to succeed and to continue to advance? That is what concerns me.

[Question] Could the PS govern by itself?

[Answer] It might be thought that this would be simpler. However, it is necessary to understand that all of the contradictions and all of the burdens of the present situation would rest on our shoulders alone. If we had to govern alone, we would do it, but this is not desirable.

[Question] Who should provoke this "clean break" with the Communist Party which has been mentioned by the president--he himself, the prime minister, or the first secretary of the PS?

[Answer] Everyone has to take part. On 1 December 1983, when I met Georges Marchais, I was quite clear with him.

[Question] That didn't have much of an impact!

[Answer] The Communist Party doesn't depend on me. I have never had the illusion of believing that it was enough for me to say something and the leadership of the PC would do it. You have to continue to act on the basis of your convictions, by exposing the contradictions, by political pressure on whatever the PC has that may be considered legitimate.

In short, we have to create a situation in which the PC leadership, of its own free will, does what appears desirable to it. Isn't that what we got after the first round of the presidential elections? For things to be clear, you have to work away for a long time.

[Question] How do you interpret the zigzags which the Communist Party has made such a specialty of?

[Answer] That's easy. You zigzag when you cannot go straight. You may go in one direction by fully entering a government. You may go in another direction by leaving a government.

[Question] Were you flattered when Chirac said that the government was taking one small step forward in terms of the steel industry?

[Answer] No. However, after all it was not unuseful that one of the opposition leaders showed a minimum amount of prudence. And after all Chirac knew very well that the steelworkers were not on his side.

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CS0: 3519/319

## 'NEW REALISTS' ON ROLE, FUTURE OF LABOR PARTY

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 14 Apr 84 pp 12-14

[Article by Frank Lafort and Rene de Bok: "'New Realists' in the PvdA: Hunt on Political Center Opened"]

[Text] The PvdA [Labor Party] is faced with a dilemma: should Den Uyl once more make a grab for power or should the party, through a position of principle on the nuclear arms discussion, place itself outside the political game until 1990? This is an ELSEVIER analysis of the future and nightmares of the "New Realists" in the PvdA.

Now that the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] and the VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] are in the process of gradually slimming down the welfare society which was fattened up under the fatherhood of social democracy, part of the critical PvdA rank and file are beginning to grumble. The discord stems from the fact that the largest opposition party has still not succeeded in developing an alternative to the philosophy of the government coalition.

This week, the semi-official PvdA working group "De Rode Draad" -- which includes such prominent social democrats as G. Benthem van den Bergh, Professor L.J. Emmery and Professor J.M.M. Ritzer -- criticized the current "ostrich policy" of the PvdA. In the booklet "Damage and Recovery," which was presented to PvdA parliamentary party leader Den Uyl this week, the working group claims that the PvdA refuses to recognize the failure of the welfare state in its present form: "The left is using two political arguments in this respect. The first one says that retrenchments are indeed necessary and possible, but should be fewer. The second is that dams must be raised. Income cuts, agreed, but then only for above average incomes. Later on this is then adjusted to the minimum incomes and later yet even to the 'real minimum incomes.' This is how one ends up with one's back against the wall, and then there is a high degree of danger of social unrest."

The authors of "Damage and Recovery" themselves are pleading for a thorough review of both the social security system and the quaternary sector. According to the working group, over the next decade social security spending will have to go down at least 15 to 20 billion guilders compared to 1983, whereas the quaternary sector will have to experience a drain of 10 billion guilders. In addition, smaller companies are going to have to play an important role in the



process of economic restructuring and a shift will be necessary from fixed interest bearing capital to risk bearing capital.

A plea worthy of liberalism. The working group's set of ideas carries ammunition for the proposition that at least a part of the PvdA is well on the way to rediscovering the wheel, the market and the market mechanism. In fact, the working group does not stand alone in its plea to stimulate the activities of entrepreneurs, to achieve as great a freedom of wage formation within the market sector as possible and to push back the role of the government.

These noises are being heard ever more strongly also within the PvdA parliamentary party in the Second Chamber, where -- how ironic -- especially a number of representatives of the former New Left, such as Kombrink, Meijer and Van der Hek, appointed themselves advocates of the market sector. During the first week of this year, Van der Hek noted: "The necessary economic recovery cannot be achieved by paying attention exclusively or primarily to the reduction of working hours, the quaternary sector and income distribution, however important they may be."

This atonement by Van der Hek is contrary to the highfalutin plans the New Left threw out publicly in the mid-sixties. In the booklet "The Power of the Red Backs," which was mistakenly kept in the background, the New Left showed itself in 1967 in its most venomous aspect. A national multi-year plan was holy. Concrete proposals in it included: the nationalization of land, the banking industry, the insurance industry and the exploitation of the treasures of the earth. A public works program had to be set up such that employment could rise immediately and the spending level of the working population could go up. In the short term, the government should be empowered to force institutional investors to take up low interest loans. Finally, the PvdA should not participate in a government if this national plan was not included in the government program.

In the year 1984, many of the social democrats who were floating up in the air have both feet back on the ground. The first sign to the outside world that the PvdA wanted to follow a more realistic course was set down in 1982 in the main points of the socio-economic policy to be conducted, from the hand of the then "informateur" Van Kemenade. The former minister of education (also a former member of the New Left) made a radical break from the planned economy positions, which had been central to the PvdA election program "Back to Work."

The fact that the steering and domination syndrome has hopelessly deteriorated is also recognized by PvdA member of parliament Jaap van der Doef, who emerges as an active supporter of the introduction of the new data processing technology in the Netherlands. Van der Doef: "Yes, I realize full well that it is very hard to accept for the PvdA, but it is inevitable. Without technological renewal a large part of Dutch industry and services are doomed to die."

The president of the FNV [Netherlands Trade Unions Federation] industrial union federation, Dick Visser, also said in the March issue of SOCIALISME EN DEMOCRATIE, the mouth piece of the Wiardi Beckman Foundation, the scientific institute of the PvdA, "that, at least until a short while ago, the market

sector has been the blind spot of the PvdA." Visser even goes a step further: "Rather, the relevant question is whether the party is willing and ready to handle the discussion on the future of industrial enterprise in a sound manner, and especially how this will be done and with whom. To this effect it is necessary in any case for the party to look into how the relationship with the employers (organizations) has developed in recent years."

At the end of the seventies, to raise these questions was a taboo in and of itself. The PvdA buried itself in a controversial issue strategy which raised the contours of the welfare state to the last line of defense of the PvdA. In 1981 the new PvdA minister of culture, recreation and social work, Andre vander Louw, had to endure strong criticism from members of his party after he had let it be known that the PvdA would do well to accept a return to reality: "It is the art of today's socialism to recognize reality without giving up our idealism."

The PvdA still did not want to make a choice. In mid-1981 the report of the Wagner Committee, entitled "A New Industrial Drive," hit the PvdA like a brick. The majority confined themselves to the comment that the report was bulging with "employers language" or saw the committee's striving as an attempt to "Americanize the economy." The ideological sloganeering obscured a business-like discussion of the report. Two years later a shift was visible in the wake of Van Kemenade. In 1983 the PvdA parliamentary party published a nationally as well as internationally oriented stimulation program, the central aspect of which is the recovery of the market sector via stimulation of demand combined with retrenchments.

The tricky question which the PvdA will have to answer in the near future is, according to R. de Boer, who works in the department of employment policy coordination of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, in the February issue of SOCIALISME EN DEMOCRATIE: "Will the social democrats make a choice for production based on the enterprise system or will they take central planning as point of departure?" After Paul Kalma convincingly demonstrated the bankruptcy of central planning in 1982 in his book "The Illusion of the Democratic State," the parliamentary party in the Second Chamber changed its policy and made a choice for production based on the enterprise system. A choice which was made easier by the support of a number of economics professors such as Wolfson, Haberstadt, Ritzen and De Galan, who are currently functioning as a cordon sanitaire for the PvdA parliamentary party in the Second Chamber.

The choice in favor of production based on the enterprise system, the distance from the adage that central planning must be a basic principle, including the new custom of the PvdA spokesmen to identify with the hard plight of small businessmen, all of that hides just a single goal: to conquer the center in the political field of power in the Netherlands.

Even though in February PvdA party President Max van den Berg told the rank and file that, in striving for a broad power base, the PvdA did not want to move to the center, he simultaneously changed his tack. Responding to the question of whether the socialists would continue to stand in the breach for every gain of the welfare state, Van den Berg said: "No, then. If we look at the

structure of the welfare state from the point of view of our principles, then it is clear that we want to hang on to social security, to the coupling between those who are employed and those who are not employed. Because that part of the welfare state erects a dam against inequality among people. On the other hand we must ask ourselves whether the development of the welfare state did not cause new dependencies and inequalities to arise. Take the relationship between men and women, between long time unemployed and WAO [Law on Labor Disability] benefit recipients. We must also ask ourselves whether there has been enough decentralization, whether there is not a need for a process of debureaucratization..."

The party president is on the tightrope over the ravine which separates the PvdA from the center in Dutch politics. The PvdA is drooling at the thought of an electoral victory which would enable it to take over the traditional position held for the last 60 years in the Netherlands by the confessional parties, absorbed into the CDA. The PvdA is trying to arouse confidence in groups which historically speaking fall outside its ideological electorate. At a congress held last year in April, Den Uyl defined the line of march when he indicated that the PvdA could grow from a party which, according to political scientists, is doomed to fluctuate around the 30 percent mark into a party which would attract more voters: "A 40 percent party without which they could really not govern in this country," said Den Uyl in 1983.

Throughout their turbulent history the social democrats have virtually continuously cherished higher aspirations, from Troelstra to Den Uyl. Each time again the striving for power alternated with periods of staring at their navels, which raised their own ideology to the center of the discussion. In that perspective the Plan would at some times be chosen as the essential attribute of social democracy, and at other times be disavowed from the point of view of realism.

The pre-war Labor Plan ("It must, it can, up to the Plan") was thrown overboard after the war by a realistically oriented policy which was advanced by "father" Drees. During the sixties the planning philosophy returned to the stage via the world improvers of the New Left. Den Uyl's jobs plan was the last "piece de resistance" in the cyclical succession of discussions based on principle and on power within the PvdA.

At the level of socio-economic themes the new realism is being forcefully stimulated by the party leaders. The party leaders see the party as "the natural" government partner. The irony of fate now finds that the top PvdA leaders are willing to change course, but are experiencing opposition from the middle level officials who are desperately resisting. In the sixties the majority of the middle level officials had sought salvation in the New Left and the wave of renewal which swept through the PvdA. Today those middle level officials are a conservative club in the sense that they want to keep what they have. The majority of the middle level officials in the PvdA are dependent on the government, as employer and as grantor of subsidies. Consequently, an unbiased opinion from the middle level officials about the market sector belongs to the category of "impossible tasks." Thus, among the PvdA union members 32 percent are members of the employees union ABVA/KABO [General Federation of Workers/

expansion unknown], 12 percent belong to the teachers union ABOP [General Association of Teaching Personnel], only 15 percent are members of the Industry union and 11 percent are members of the services unions.

Furthermore, a stereotypical phenomenon for the PvdA is the fact that the party leaders are always bothered -- whatever the policy may be -- by segments which feel hard pressed. If the PvdA wants to fight unemployment by reducing working hours, a small group of Red Women within the PvdA climb high up into the curtains out of pure spite. Because the fight against unemployment was not really the predominant reason for the reduction of working hours, was it? It was primarily for emancipation, wasn't it? If the PvdA leaders stress the importance of emancipation, then voices rise immediately from within the party saying that people who make a point of that would be better off to turn to a feminist party such as the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands].

A more significant obstacle which bars the road to the center for the social democrats is the set of problems concerning whether or not the American cruise missiles will be deployed on Dutch territory. In the year 1984 the PvdA has made a choice for the cheapest and easiest solution: "no" to the deployment. Benthem van den Bergh and Tromp recently indicated that the PvdA does not have a real defense policy or a manageable concept for conducting foreign policy. Discussions in which the PvdA congress demanded that the party leaders effect a withdrawal of the Netherlands from NATO have died down in recent years. But this word struggle could once again raise its head if the cabinet decides to deploy the cruise missiles on Dutch soil. Last week Hans van Mierlo, the former defense minister, pointed to this possibility when he observed that a positive decision on deployment was mandatory for the sake of internal cohesion within NATO. Van Mierlo did not disclose that this decision could boomerang if an anti-NATO mood were to develop in the Netherlands.

Such a mood could germinate first within the PvdA, which, in the wake of unions and pressure groups, is verbally opposing the deployment of the cruise missiles. A positive decision would mean defeat in every way for the PvdA. If through this loss of face the anti-NATO feelings once again get the upper hand, then the PvdA undoubtedly will put itself out of the game until 1990, in spite of the recent offensive of all new realists.

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CSO: 3614/76

## PROGRESSIVE PARTY HOLDS LARGEST CONGRESS EVER

## Hagen Urges Better Organization

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Apr 84 p 3

[Article: "Hagen Appeal: "Get out on the field, for Progressive Party"]

[Text] "Members of the Progressive Party, get out on the field and make your presence felt!" will be the main message from Party Leader Carl I. Hagen at the Progressive Party Congress, to be held this weekend. Hagen will also attack the National Federation of Trade Unions [LO]. "It works contrary to the interests of its own members," said Hagen in a conversation with AFTENPOSTEN prior to the congress. In his main speech at the congress he will also stress the importance of improving the ability to compete in Norwegian industry.

Recent opinion polls show decline in support of the Progressive Party. Hagen admits that Conservative party voters are returning to their old party. At the election last fall the party had the support of 6.3 percent of the voters, and an opinion poll a couple of months later indicated a support of 9.5 percent. Carl I. Hagen was quick to state that that figure was probably too high. One month ago he said he believed that in the 1985 election his party would be larger than the Center Party. It is this belief that now makes him urge party members to enter the fray. Hagen admits that the party's organization is still not good enough. "We do not yet have a national party organization, but we are in the process of establishing a central membership file. In parallel with this the party is engaged in a formidable P R effort. At the congress members and others will be offered everything from T-shirts and badges, yo-yos, ladies scarves and neckties, all in the party's colors and symbols. In addition, the folder to be distributed to delegates contains an appeal to male members: "Be well dressed with the Progressive Party. Three shirts and a party necktie, only 295 kroner."

On the local political level as well, the party is making efforts. Party vice chairman Eivind Eckbo will open the debate on county policy, while Peter N. Myhre, chairman of the committee on municipal policies, will concentrate on problems in the municipal sector and on how the Progressive Party is to create a party profile on municipal problems.



The congress is thus far the largest in the party's history, and this may be the reason why the leadership has decided to record everything on TV, with future cassette production in mind. These will be tailored to the wishes of the county locals for use in instruction courses and in recruiting meetings.

#### Debate on Ideological Direction

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Progressive Party Liberalism 'in Norwegian'"]

[Text] The Progressive Party consolidated its position at its largest ever congress, held last weekend in Oslo. Carl I. Hagen, re-elected chairman, states it as follows: "The ideological clarification gives the Progress party a market economy platform with firm contact with reality. Hagen also made clear that he and the newly elected central board, completely devoid of women, are well prepared for an all-out effort in the coming election campaign. However, he did not wish to reveal what the themes would be in the campaign. "This will be made clear in further work on the program" said Hagen.

The few disagreements that appeared at the congress dealt in fact with ideology. Pal Atle Skjervengen, chairman of the party youth organization, put it as follows: "I look forward to an ideological and political debate, not to creating disagreement, but rather the opposite. We shall stand united embracing a political attitude that in the future will make it easier for the party to appear as the individual's spokesman against a pre dominant and destructive state power.

Roy Wetterstad of Buskerud county said during the political debate at congress, however, that he shudders when he hears party members speak up for a so-called "ministate" in which government is to include only administration of justice and defense. "This borders on scorn of the generation that so justifiably has built up a social security network under government guidance," he said.

Knut Pay, delegate from Buskerud and newly elected member of the central board, stated during the debate: "The freedom to kill oneself on roads without speed limits, to perish in the narcotics hell, and freedom to suffer social need, is a freedom I can do without. What is positive in the Norway of today should not be changed by the Progressive Party. Our party should find a platform in the world of reality. What we need is a Norwegian liberalism."

## More Funds for Defense Urged

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Give Defense More Funds"]

[Text] Norwegian defense suffers today from great shortcomings as concerns preparedness, training and materiel. This weakens the credibility of our defense. The congress of the Progressive Party urges the Storting and the government to strengthen defense by giving branches and units the funds required. This was the wording of a resolution on the subject which, in addition to ideology, was most prominent in the debate at the party congress this weekend.

A proposal to include civil defense in the resolution was not adopted, but a wide range of viewpoints on defense policy appeared. Oslo City Council Member Hugo Munthe-Kaas stressed security policy aspects. --"The Left in Norwegian politics has taken the lead as concerns security policy. It criticizes rightist regimes such as, for example, that of South Africa. It is now time to direct the searchlight at other regimes, which exceed their authority in world society," said Munthe-Kaas, going on to mention the presence of Cuban troops on the Horn of Africa and Libyan forces engaging in offensives beyond the borders of the country.

Tor Reidar Boland of Finnmark dealt with more immediate defense problems: of current defense debate to abolish existing preparedness forces is to start at the wrong end. "What about dealing with the "overpopulated" defense staffs?" he said, going on to point out the lack of air defense at the air fields in Northern Norway. "The Russians can take these air fields almost without striking a blow," said Boland, asserting that many military leaders are more concerned with careers and pay than with explaining the serious situation to politicians.

Knut Pay called for the establishment of a foreign policy committee that could make contributions to defense, foreign and security policies. Pay wanted Storting representative Bjorn Erling Ytterhorn to be chairman of the committee.

The Congress adopted a resolution concerning measures to combat unemployment. The resolution points out that unemployment is still a great problem in Norway and asserts that the government thus far has shown little willingness to engage in new thinking to stimulate creation of new jobs and new enterprises. In place of short-range support measures of various kinds the Progress Party will urge the government to make new efforts to establish programs and arrangements aimed at stimulating the private sector to make new investments, states the resolution.

Also severely criticized were supporters of narcotics legislation, liberalization and party members who were of this persuasion were urged to find other parties to belong to. The Progress Party views with alarm "the lack of action of the authorities as concerns measures to stop the increasing

trend toward violence in our society." From the same resolution it is apparent that during the past few years several crimes of violence have been committed by persons who have either been released from prison conditionally or on parole.

The Progress Party congress therefore is of the opinion that far stricter rules for conditional release of parole are needed.

The newly elected central board of the Progress Party consists of Carl I. Hagen, chairman; Helge N. Albrektsen, Hordaland, vice chairman for politics; Tore Haaland, organizational vice chairman. Other board members are Peter N. Myhre, Oslo; Lodve Solholm, More and Romsdal; Frode Ringheim, Nordland, and Knut Pay, Buskerud.

### Party's Leading Ideologist Profiled

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Without the Progressive Party --Dissension among Conservatives"]

[Text] Workers in industry are target group I for the Progressive Party. This was said by the party leader Carl I. Hagen.

Storting representative Fridtjof Frank Gundersen, functioning almost as the party's uncrowned ideologue is not quite so sure. --"Consider all the rootless small businessmen. In the Progress Party they will not be mowed down by bureaucracy and working environment laws. Had the Progress Party not existed, the Conservative party would have experienced internal discord and splits," he says.

Fridtjof Frank Gundersen tops the party's list of candidates for the Storting election without being a member of the party. And will be elected! Equally sovereignly independent is he in his evaluation of the party's future. "The Progressive Party could end up with between 4.4 and 15 percent of votes cast, depending upon developments. And developments, what will they be? What role will the Progress Party play in politics up until the next Storting election?" asks Fridtjof Frank Gundersen. "When the Conservatives see how popular our standpoints are, their own standpoints will slowly turn toward ours. This is an effect not easily registered by the press. For my part I must say I am very well satisfied if other parties adjust their course to win back the voters who have turned to the Progress Party in protest against the organization regime and the bureaucracy in our society."

[Question] Are all Progress Party Storting members so modest that they do not strive for cabinet positions?

[Answer] "I can only speak for myself, and I am not anxious to get into the government. I realize of course that the Progress Party may hold the balance of power in the next round, but the center parties will never accept us as cooperation partners."

Fridtjof Frank Gundersen also says that the time is over when Conservatives regarded the Progress Party as a pariah caste.

[Question] Is the time also over when the Progressive Party attracted a number of outsiders in Norwegian politics?

[Answer] "Many persons, defined as outsiders because they could not adjust to the organization society found their way to us. For the first time they saw that they were able to influence policies. This makes them no longer outsiders," says Fridtjof Frank Gundersen.

According to Gundersen, small businessmen had nothing but trouble when meeting with authorities. They have been without the protection any employee has in labor environment legislation, and they have been loaded down with filling out forms and collecting the value added tax on the penalty of prosecution. According to the Progress Party ideologist, building contractors are the typical example of groups that seek new ways to get ahead in politics. To that extent the debate on privatization of the health law brings yet another group over to the camp of the Progress Party.

[Question] Which parties fear attacks by the Progress Party?

[Answer] "On the one hand we put the Conservatives in a pinch between us and the center parties. On the other hand we help ourselves to representatives of the National Federation of Labor."

[Question] The causes the Progress Party advocates may look fine separately, but is there not a need for an overriding political principle as well in a political party?

[Answer] "The Progress Party is an unfinished party. We are bound by a few clear and strong program planks. The party must necessarily develop its own policies and identity through the work that is being done. The present Storting term is an important time for the party. We are busy crystalizing as clear a pattern as possible," says Fridtjof Frank Gundersen, while at the same time he stresses that it is important for the party not to develop into a collection of individualists carrying out their own policies at the local level.

"The large parties depend upon support from pressure groups and organizations, which forces them into unclear compromises. The Progress Party depends upon informed democracy in its real sense," says Storting Representative Fridtjof Frank Gundersen to AFTENPOSTEN.

#### Paper Views Party's 'Dilemma'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Apr 84 p 2

[Editorial: "The Progressive Party's Dilemma"]

[Text] The responsibility of a party, or lack of it, is not easily evaluated on the basis of statements made at a congress. This applies also to the

Progress Party, in which most anything has been heard in the course of the Party's brief existence. The congress in Oslo last weekend differed from past congresses by relatively disciplined behavior by the speakers. Or, perhaps better stated: the curiosities, the political excesses did not appear. The party has thus become more responsible, more credible than it has formerly been? Not necessarily, not unreservedly. The correct point of departure when a political party is to be evaluated is the party's platform, its stand-points and its voting record. One must also ask what a party's ideology involves for society and the individual to the extent political conditions exist for its implementation. Many analysts have studied this and have come to a rather depressing result as concerns the Progress Party.

Any political party should be judged by its actions. The Progress Party is no exception to this and can therefore lay claim to be judges as are other parties. We ourselves have questioned several facets of the policies Carl I. Hagen and his party advocate. We have also explained why a number of the party's extreme points of view are in our view not appropriate to promotion of a balanced and socially responsible development of society. It simply cannot be done if everything is left to the free development of forces if at the same time one wishes to preserve and further develop a welfare society.

Earlier, the Progress Party has stressed being different from other parties, and on the whole it has probably done what it could to live up to this reputation. But let it be said that as party chairman Carl I. Hagen has felt the taint of the Progress Party not being regarded as a serious party, and at the congress he therefore urged the party to shape a new, more responsible profile. In this matter he stressed better training of those chosen for responsibilities in the party, so that party policy in municipalities and counties would not be carried on haphazardly.

These efforts by Hagen have no doubt born fruit. It seems at least that one can gradually see a certain degree of predictability as concerns the Progress Party, and in municipal and county politics this has resulted in more orderly cooperation on the non-socialist side.

The Progress Party's basic attitudes are still the same, however, which, at least thus far, have set clear limits to cooperation on the national level between, for example, the Conservatives and Carl I. Hagen's party. There seems to be no political basis for a rapprochement. And, should the Progress Party develop into what is commonly regarded as a "responsible" party, some will ask what its intentions are. In such cases, one would probably vote Conservative. This illustrates the dilemma of the Progress Party.

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## OVERFISHING BLAMED FOR DEVASTATING ECONOMY OF FAEROE ISLANDS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 14-15 Apr 84 p 14

[Article by Jens Holme: "Overfishing Knocks Bottom From Faeroe Islands Economy; Marked Increase in Balance of Payments Deficit"]

[Text] Because of a situation which biologists describe as overfishing, the Faeroe Island's fishing industry broke all records in 1983. But paradoxically enough, for the same reason, the economy of the country is on the edge of chaos, according to the annual economic summary for the Faeroe Islands and the related comments from the Foreign Ministry's advisory committees on the Faeroe Islands.

Because of a strong upswing in the catch of cod, coalfish, and trash fish, the fishing fleet had its first profitable year in many years. The total catch in 1983 was 325,000 tons, an increase of 30 percent in relation to the year before.

#### Increasing Consumption

The fishermen's income increased noticeably and that has in turn been reflected in a marked increase in imports of tobacco, alcoholic beverages, automobiles, video equipment, clothes and other luxury goods. For the sake of comparison it should be mentioned that there now are 85 automobiles per 100 households on the Faeroe Islands against only 63 in Denmark. And 30 percent of the Faeroe Island households own a video recorder against only 8 percent of Danish families.

The record catches from the sea have simultaneously whetted the appetite of others to participate in the adventure. Private investment in fishing ships as well as freight and passenger ships was at an extremely high level in 1983--600 million kroner compared with 100 million kroner in each of the previous three years.

The rising consumption and increase in investments has had negative consequences for the balance of payments. Export deficits rose from 150 million kroner in 1982 to not less than 400 million kroner last year. The Faeroe Islands total foreign debt at the end of 1983 was on the order of 2,200 million kroner, which is considerably more than half of gross national product.

However, the worst is that new investments in fishing will never be profitable. The advisory committees warn that the record catches and strong expansion of the fishing fleet will quickly have a backlash.

#### Warnings Ignored

The other side of the coin is that the supplies of cod and coalfish have dropped significantly. The fishermen have completely ignored the warnings of both the biologists and international agreements on catch-limits, and have embarked upon overfishing without consideration for the fact that this is occurring at the expense of future catches in the coming years.

From a private economic consideration, it nonetheless will continue to be advantageous for individuals to continue to put new ships in the water. The Faeroe Island fishing industry is supported by a wealth of public support measures which put a premium on construction of new ships and mean that a particular fishing ship can ignore a significant portion of the expenses of operation and count on higher prices for fish than the Faeroe Island society realizes from exports. The Fishing Council on the Faeroe Islands expects that just the capacity of the trawler fleet alone will increase by 37 percent between 1982 and 1984.

"In consideration of the large and growing foreign debt and the existing uncertainty for the fishing industry and the prices which over time can be realized from the export of Faeroe Island fish products, there is a need for measures which can lead the economy in a more healthy direction," the advisory committee concludes.

#### Wealth of Support

The annual economic report indicates furthermore that government outlays on the Faeroe Islands during the last four years have risen from 433 million to 616 million kroner and constitute one-sixth of the Faeroe Islands' gross national income. By far the largest item of the national expenditures on the Faeroe Islands is the outlay for the social welfare department, and within this social security in particular.

12578

CSO: 3613/141

## EFFORT TO REVIVE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL

Madrid ABC in Spanish 11 Apr 84 p 20

[Text] Madrid--Spanish-Brazilian relations will be receiving another shot in the arm, at all levels, especially the economic one, with the 4-day visit, starting today, of the president of Brazil, Joao Baptista Figueiredo, reciprocating the one made to that country a year ago by Their Majesties the King and Queen of Spain.

The Brazilian president will arrive in Madrid today at 5 pm and will dine privately tonight with Don Juan Carlos and Dona Sofia in the Palacio de la Zarzuela. Tomorrow, Thursday, Figueiredo will receive the prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez in the El Pardo Palace, which will be the Brazilian president's official residence during his 4-day visit to our country. After this meeting, the Brazilian chief executive will visit the Senate. During this visit, the Brazilian foreign minister will hold talks separately, in the Palacio de Santa Cruz, with his Spanish counterpart, who will then host a lunch in his visitor's honor. In the afternoon, the Brazilian president will receive the resident Diplomatic Corps in Spain, and at 10 pm tonight he will attend a dinner offered in his honor by Their Majesties the King and Queen.

On Friday, the president will visit the Madrid Municipal Council, where he will be honored by the Municipal Corporation, after which he will receive the Brazilian colony resident in Spain. Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Joao Baptista Figueiredo will hold a luncheon meeting during which bilateral relations and the international situation will be reviewed. In view of the official status of the visitor, the latter discussion will center on the socioeconomic problems affecting the Latin American continent, with special emphasis on the Central American crisis. That night, the president of Brazil will host a reception in honor of Don Juan Carlos and Dona Sofia. Figueiredo will conclude his visit on Saturday, when the Brazilian delegation will depart from our country.

Spanish-Brazilian relations, which are traditionally good and had been close for years, and which only very recently became clouded owing to economic problems, will receive a new impetus as a result of this visit and the intent expressed by the president. Last year, Brazil became one of the severest

headaches for officials of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Trade, when it became Spain's worst trading partner from the standpoint of reciprocity, buying from Spain only 8 percent of what it sold to Spain.

Several efforts made to resolve the problem met with failure and, although the Brazilians would have preferred to have postponed for a while yet the talks on economic problems, the Madrid Government finally succeeded in having them included as an appropriate part of Figueiredo's visit. A Brazilian trade delegation arrived here on Monday to smooth the way for the presidential visit.

The inclusion of the Brazilian Government's minister for economic planning brought new hopes for a solution to the trade imbalance that is the source of so much concern in Madrid and Brasilia and that Figueiredo is confident of resolving "with the participation of private initiative." With this in mind, heads of big private and public enterprises were included in the Brazilian presidential delegation.

9399

CSO: 3548/236

## HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS OVERWHELMED BY PRICES, TAXES

Madrid EL ALCAZAR in Spanish 11 Apr 84 p 7

[Text] Electricity rates could rise by some 8.75 percent if the Council of Ministers approves, at its meeting today, the proposal of the National Price Board, which in its meeting of yesterday reduced the request of the companies by 4.20 points. This rise, which exceeds the Government's inflation goals, was also the topic of a meeting held yesterday evening by the heads of the electric power companies with the minister of industry and energy, Carlos Solchaga.

Concurrently, sources in the Ministry of the Economy yesterday provided EL ALCAZAR with the latest figures on prices of staple products, as of March 1984. According to these figures, the retail price of bread ranged between 87.71 and 85.46 pesetas per kilo, depending on the zones in Spain, for 150- to 300-gram loaves, that is, the most generally sold forms for household consumption. As of the end of the first quarter this year, refined olive oil, up to 15 degrees, was selling at between 239 and 225 pesetas, while sunflower seed oil was priced at between 169 and 164 pesetas, per liter. The price of a dozen eggs ranged between 148 and 142 pesetas, while that of white sugar reached 91 pesetas. All of these prices represented substantial increases over those of preceding periods.

Continuing with the shopping cart, and still taking into account the differences between producing zones, new potatoes ranged in price per kilo between 61 and 50 pesetas; tomatoes between 107 and 56 pesetas; oranges between 53 and 36 pesetas; chicken between 246 and 209 pesetas; hake between 1,619 and 1,323 pesetas; sardines between 145 and 100 pesetas; prime veal between 1,028 and 916 pesetas, third-class veal between 506 and 411 pesetas; and brisket between 251 and 286 pesetas per kilo.

The combination of these rises with the recent rise in the price of gas and the continuous rises in other components of the daily household budget, such as transportation, is exacerbating the serious economic situation and having an overwhelming impact on the pockets of the Spaniards at a time when tax increases are reaching the point of a confiscatory effect on savings. In



the last few days, the Madrid Municipal Council has earmarked a substantial budgetary sum for the printing of booklets explaining the procedure for the payment of municipal taxes and fines, and the Ministry of Economy and Finance has met on the forthcoming public information campaign regarding the filing of income tax returns and payment of taxes due, for which funding has been appropriated in the amount of several hundred million pesetas.

The relentless deterioration in household budgets has already produced popular reactions in some Spanish provinces, in the form of leaflets that are being distributed in public places and that show a comparison of prices for the principal items of household consumption between 1975 and 1984. In Barcelona, for example, a handbill has appeared recently, titled "Report to the People," according to which the price of a kilo of bread has increased almost sixfold during that period, city transportation eightfold, olive oil almost threefold, bottled gas four and one-half times, and telephone subscriber rates up to seven times. These handbills also make reference to the inflation rate of public prices, official waste, the shutdowns of thousands of firms and the growth in the unemployment rate, which has increased from 2 percent in 1975 to over 18 percent at present, leaving no doubt as to the intended comparison between the sacrifices of the citizenry and the lack of austerity being shown in recent years on the part of the heads of public administrations.

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CSO: 3548/236

## OFFICERS DEFEND NATO PLANNING IN REPLY TO CHARGES BY KROON

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 15 Apr 84 p 10

[Article by Peter Bergen: "Danish Colonel with NATO Completely Misses Mark; Danish Officers Now Distance Themselves from Sensational Statement"]

[Text] Officers are now also disassociating themselves from the information which Danish NATO officer, Colonel H. Kroon, has given concerning NATO's preparations for a new "first strike" strategy. This occurs, moreover, in the magazine, MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT, where the colonel in February had his sensational article. This led, after being quoted in AKTUELT, to political commotion, particularly since the Danish navy and air force were to have an important role in NATO's new "offensive defensive" plans, according to Colonel Kroon.

MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT is published by the Military Science Association. A member of the board of directors in this officers' association, Major O. H. Hoff from Naestved, warns now against the colonel's "disinformation."

"Colonel Kroon by reason of his work at the NATO Defense College in Rome, must be regarded as having considerable knowledge and insight into current events taking place within the NATO alliance--both political and military. There is therefore great possibility that the colonel's views have attracted attention," the major writes. But he declares that the colonel's "thoughts" are not only directly wrong, but also militarily and politically undesirable. "The colonel himself is contributing to that which he warns against, that is, 'giving the disinformation too free a rein.'"

A later comment was as follows: "Colonel Kroon's 'Offensive Forward Defense,' and particularly 'Preemptive Counter Air' (ed.: preemptive strikes against Eastern bloc air bases), cast justifiable doubt over the alliance's peaceful intentions. Even though the colonel's thoughts can be defended within the framework of pure military analyses, it is indefensible that such thoughts are put forth as representing advanced military-political views of NATO staff members."

Such is not the case, according to Major Hoff. "A study containing the colonel's proposals would never survive a political hearing process within NATO. Incorporation into NATO's strategy of an element of preemptive

strikes would not ensure security, but would be destabilizing and make crisis management more difficult."

Kroon's clear suggestion that Denmark should use force to block the exit from the Baltic in periods of crisis is also rejected in MILITAERT TIDSSKRIFT as follows: "This involves a procedure which should not be contemplated. It would be a military operation, which irrespective of the political-security situation, would be a violation by Denmark of international law and order."

In contrast Major Hoff tactfully avoids commenting on Colonel H. Kroon's demagoguery about the necessity of a coup against the "Moscow-supported" Social Democrats. Politicians and officers make light of the coup thoughts, perhaps because Colonel Kroon retired at the end of February.

However, the officers do not stop with their distance-taking article. The Military Science Association has invited 100 officers, civil servants and politicians to a seminar on NATO's strategy. The seminar is to take place at the LO [Danish Trades Union Congress] school in Helsingor. The government's Security and Disarmament Committee (ANU) has donated 75,000 kroner for the occasion.

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CSO: 3613/141

## OFFICIAL CITES GREATER DEFENSE INTEREST AMONG YOUTH

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Apr 84 p 15

[Article: "Conscientious Objectors Want to Be Back in Armed Forces"]

[Text] Steadily more conscientious objectors want to return to the armed forces, recent figures from the Defense Ministry show.

"If the fear of war has been growing among our young people with a military service obligation as the result of the nuclear weapons debate of recent times, this study shows that the possible threat of war has entailed greater determination to defend oneself militarily," Undersecretary Oddmund H. Hammerstad asserts.

More and more conscientious objectors want to be put back on the military rolls, while at the same time the number of conscientious objectors is on the way down. In 1982 the number of conscientious objectors reached the top--with 2812, which is the highest figure in the postwar period. A year later the figure dropped to 2372. The number of conscientious objectors who are trying to be taken back in the armed forces is also higher than at any time--407 young Norwegians requested such a transfer last year. And already after the first two months of this year 84 conscientious objectors applied for being taken back into the armed forces.

"I consider the new trend we can trace now as increased consciousness and support for our conventional armed forces, after the debate of recent times regarding our armed forces and the allied armed forces cooperation arrangement," Defense Ministry Undersecretary Oddmund Hammerstad tells AFTENPOSTEN.

To the question whether he does not think that increasing unemployment can have contributed to the fact that more are choosing the armed forces over civilian service, the undersecretary answers:

"I still choose to believe that those who choose civilian service do this for reasons of serious convictions. The period of service for civilian service is, besides, longer than for those doing first-time military service, so such an interpretation certainly does not agree with an employment mentality. I rather believe the trend, with increased support for our armed forces, comes as the result of the increasing Eastern propaganda which has appeared especially in the nuclear weapons debate of recent times."

## BRIEFS

FORCES REORGANIZATION PROPOSED--On Friday the government proposed a number of organization changes in the armed forces. Among other things, the proposals are to the effect that the Armed Forces Psychological Service and the Armed Forces Education Center are to be united under the designation the Armed Forces Psychological and Education Center, and that the Troms Land Forces Pack Animal Company and the six mobilizable pack animal companies are to be abolished as of 1 January 1985. Moving of the peacetime headquarters of the Supreme Command in South Norway from Oslo to the Stavanger area and the establishment of combined peacetime and wartime headquarters as of the spring of 1987 are also being proposed. The Air Force officers' school in Stavanger is being abolished and a new Air Force administration school is being established at the same place. Other proposals are the building of personnel barracks at the Bardufoss air station and the transfer of noncommissioned officers for the Skjold Garrison at Helligskogen, and, in addition, the acquisition of an industrial building project at Rognan in the municipality of Saltdal. [By NTB [Norwegian Wire Service]] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Apr 84 p 15] 8985

CSO: 3639/105



## COAST GUARD PLANES CLOSELY MONITOR SOVIETS IN BALTIC

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Sune Olofson: "Continuous Camera Surveillance Along Our Borders"]

[Text] The Baltic. "These hopeless Russian letters and names," said coast guard pilot Bjerne von Schulman, pushing the yoke forward and sending his aircraft down low over the Soviet freighter.

We flew at 200 km/hr in a Cessna 402 at a height of 90 meters over the ship while copilot Lars Franzen read the text on the ship's stack: "Leningradskiy Partisan."

Immediately thereafter we heard the radio operator on the "Leningradskiy Partisan" reporting in Russian over the shortwave radio to his home port: "Swedish Coast Guard, Swedish Coast Guard!"

## Around the Clock

The mission of coast guard aircraft is, among other things, to identify and report foreign ships and aircraft in the vicinity in the Baltic. Units of military interest are photographed.

Day and night, in sunshine, rain, darkness or fog, ship after ship is detected by the nose and side radars on the aircraft. Thereafter the ship's name, nationality, course and type are reported to the navy's sea surveillance stations.

Photographs are developed by the naval intelligence service, which processes and analyzes them.

Coast guard aviation, which began its activity in 1976 and today has a total of three light aircraft, flies continuously over the sea at low altitude. The pilots are often required to change over quickly from contact to instrument flying.

That is very demanding.

## In All Weather

"We generally fly in all weather," said Lars Franzen, head of Coastal Air Patrol at Bromma. "Our main missions are border surveillance, ocean fishing surveillance, lifesaving, watching for oil spills, surveillance of protected areas and customs surveillance.

In the photographic archives of the Coastal Air Patrol at Bromma there is a large collection of photographs of Soviet ships and aircraft photographed during their movements in the Baltic.

## Service to the Navy

"The coast guard records at least 3,000 military units of different nationalities per year. Identification is really a service to the navy," said Lars Franzen.

For that service the navy pays for about 300 flying hours of the fully 1200 which coast guard aircraft fly per year on a total of 500 missions.

The Cessna is equipped with qualified navigation and surveillance equipment. The SLAR search radar can "see" 40 km on each side in flight. That means that when the aircraft is out over international waters it can "see" a good distance into Soviet territory.

"The SLAR radar sees everything from oil slicks to submarine periscopes," said Lars Franzen.

Rymdbolaget [The Space Company] produced the effective remote analysis system carried on board. The system receives and processes electromagnetic radiation regardless of fog or night.

By pointing with a special light pen at the radar screen, the system operator can place a radar marking on an unidentified target. Then the system calculates the target's position, course and speed.

## Testing Radio Link

At present Rymdbolaget and the coast guard are testing a radio link which will make it possible to transmit photographs and radar echoes directly down to a coast guard ship or a communications central ashore.

The radio link is a result of the many antisubmarine searches in which coast guard aircraft took part.

"In the beginning phase of the incidents in Harsfjarden and during the Umea search, coast guard aircraft documented detection of submarine wakes," said Lars Franzen, who admitted however that the navy's experts questioned their quality.

Pilot Bjerne von Schulman said that is easy to identify Russian fishing boats.

#### Rusty Russians

"They are so frightfully rusty. And the Russians love to anchor or move through special areas, especially near Hoburgen on southern Gotland. We have our suspicions, but have never been able to prove anything."

The pride of coast guard aviation is some photographs of the Soviet fighter SU 15, and the Soviet Golf-class nuclear submarines. It was an SU 15 which shot down the South Korean passenger plane.

The six Golf-class submarines--which seldom show themselves on the surface--entered the Baltic for the first time in 1981. It was announced officially by the Soviets that the Golf submarines were to be repaired in a Baltic shipyard.

"But they came to stay, and there is still no reasonable explanation why the Soviets have stationed nuclear weapon armed submarines in the 'Sea of Peace,'" said staff editor Bertil Lagerwall of the Defense Staff.

When a coast guard aircraft finds a fishing boat in a forbidden area the position is determined and documented by photographs. Then the trespasser is called on the shortwave radio and requested to leave the area.

#### Cocky Danes

Then a cocky Danish voice can answer and state that he himself will decide when he is through fishing. The coast guard aircraft can not land on water, and it takes a long time before a coast guard ship can arrive.

The Dane knows that, and so he keeps on fishing.

In any case the outcome will be a summons to a Swedish court and fines for illegal fishing. But if the catch has been a good one, the fines are not important.

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## WOMEN RECRUITS DROP TRAINING AT HIGH RATE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 24 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Roger Magnergard: "The Women Are Leaving Military Training"]

[Text] More than every third woman who volunteered to join the air force last year left the training. Corresponding figures for the army and coast artillery are almost as high.

"Many of the girls have been offered jobs in other training which, when they realize it, produce jobs with higher wages," explained Major Goran Johansson, in charge of basic recruiting in the air force.

He pointed out that most women have a solid education behind them when they enlist. At the same time as they apply for the military alternative, they have also applied to civilian schools.

"Education is voluntary, so we must expect departures."

Departures are, however, significantly fewer among those who have completed basic training and entered officers school.

"For the most part, those who leave from there will continue. But they simply have not completed the requirements placed on them."

One of those who left the training is Ann-Sofie Englund. She enlisted in F 6 in Karlsborg last summer, and was to be trained as a platoon sergeant.

"At the beginning the routine was fun," she said. "But it soon became monotonous. It was the same old shooting and the same crawling in the dirt."

During the Christmas break Ann-Sofie Englund broke her spleen--on her free time. At the beginning of February she left the military life.

"I do not regret the time in the military--but I would not like to do it over again.

"The NCO's bullied us. They said that we could not do certain drills just because we were girls."

The conscripts were also annoyed because the women received 50 kroner more per month--in clothing allowance.

"But there were a lot of good things, also," said Ann-Sofie. "I learned how to cope with many different personalities when we were packed close together for long periods."

Today she is working as a gymnastics teacher, which is "much better."

"Now I meet livelier people."

The different recruiting divisions in the Defense Department have kept track of why women are leaving the military life. Besides those who are attracted to other schools, there are those who have different reasons.

#### Poor Training

One woman in the coast artillery did not think that she was being sufficiently well trained. All the time was devoted to searching for possible submarines.

Another developed a dislike for weapons. One girl from lower Norrland thought that life in uniform was not rewarding. She opened her own company instead.

Furthermore some have had strictly personal reasons--such as that they were forced to move when their husbands got jobs in other places, or that they had to take care of their children.

Colonel Sven-Erik Nilsson was, until 1 March, the regimental commander of Ing 1 outside of Sodertalje. Eight women were trained there. When he finished there were five remaining.

"The girls' school background was too poor," he said. "The men they were competing with almost all had 4 years of technical training under their belts. The women had 2 and 3 years technical training."

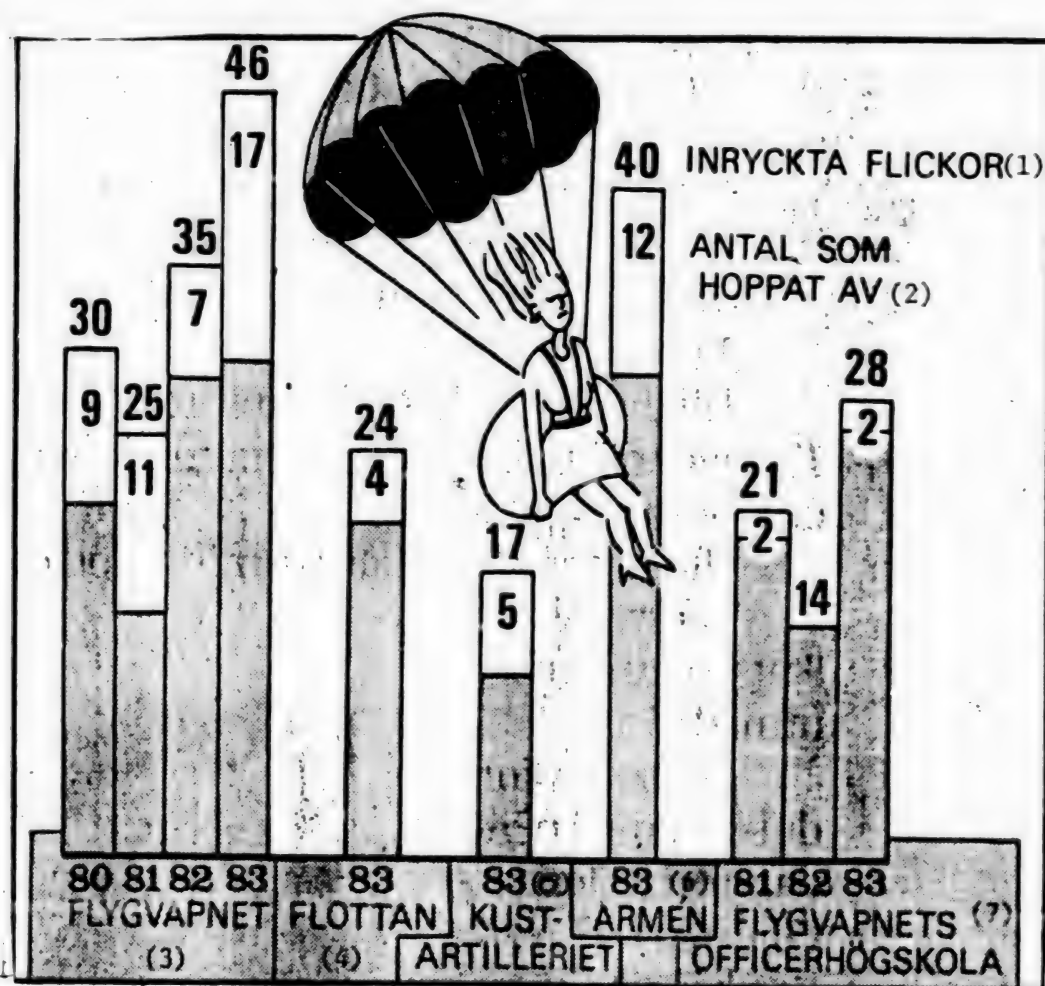
Of the five remaining, according to Nilsson, there is one who can compete with the men for a place in the officers school.

"Officer employment is attractive--and we can only select the best. It would be wrong to do otherwise.

"But that seems almost like coaxing the girls in for one year when they volunteer for basic training, and later do not have the opportunity to go farther."



Sven-Erik Nilsson pointed out, however, that it is "good that the Defense Department is open to the fair sex."



Key: 1. Enlisted women      4. Navy      7. Air force officers training school  
 2. Number who quit      5. Coast Artillery  
 3. Air force      6. Army

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## ARMY, MATERIEL COMMAND DIFFER ON CHOICE FOR ANTITANK COPTER

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 30 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Eric Liden: "Army's Choice Is 'Obsolete' Helicopter"]

[Text] The Swedish Army is investing almost 500 million kronor in an antitank helicopter which is 20 years old, despite the fact that entirely modern and insignificantly more expensive helicopters are being offered to the defense forces.

As recently as last week the negotiators in the Defense Materiel Administration [FMV] made a preliminary decision that during May a contract would be signed with the German aircraft and helicopter manufacturer MBB in Munich.

MBB, which stands for Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Bloom, is a well-known manufacturer of aircraft, helicopters and antitank weapons. MBB participates in the Tornado and Airbus projects. Of the 7 or 8 helicopter firms which have been considered as suppliers of antitank helicopters to Sweden, MBB is the smallest with 2,000 employees. The others, of which Aerospatiale in France was the main competitor, have 4,500 to 12,000 employees.

## Modifications

MBB's helicopter Bolkow 105, called the BO 105, is built on a 20-year-old foundation, equipped with certain modifications, and has been used for a long time in the German Army. On the other hand it is not current, because West Germany is now renewing its line of antitank helicopters. Therefore in 1986 Sweden will be buying a helicopter which by then will have been pensioned off by Germany.

BO 105 has two engines, and has rigid rotors which the newly developed Aerospatiale Ecureuil does not. It has both one and two engine models. BO 105 has been used in different military applications, while the Aerospatiale model is rather untested.

Maintenance costs for the BO 105 are documented high in West Germany and Belgium, while experts at FMV in Sweden estimate maintenance costs which are only half of the German.

Nobody can explain how this is possible.

Although FMV has been evaluating different helicopters for 2 years, the more modern types have not appealed to the military experts. As recently as last year a threat-picture study for helicopters was conducted in the Defense Staff which showed that the helicopter's vulnerability has increased significantly, partly because of the development of a modern doppler radar which can pinpoint a helicopter which is hovering in place at low altitude. Older radars can not do that.

There is such a doppler radar in the fighter aircraft Viggen, and the fighter-attack-recco aircraft Gripen.

In the Defense Department they say that if the BO 105 is the army's choice now, the 500 million kronor to be invested in this system is considered to be learning money. There will be no further procurement of BO 105's at the end of the 1980's. Then more modern helicopters must be chosen.

#### Objections

There are objections to the BO 105 pointed out by those who have test flown it. It vibrates more than other helicopter types, and is therefore difficult to hold still when the antitank missile TOW is fired. Despite a modern 90-million-kronor sight from SAAB, the probability of hits will be somewhat lower.

Former Army Commander Nils Skold personally requested a quick helicopter decision in 1983, and received the support of the Supreme Commander, when he was ready to defer the entire question.

Then why has FMV showed such great interest in the BO 105? One important reason is that there are many BO 105's, and in a declining market they can be sold for a lower price than more modern competing helicopters.

At the same time as the antitank helicopter, after almost 10 years of discussions and investigations will enter the Swedish Defense Forces, disagreement is great about the future importance of this weapon system. The great powers are investing in considerably more expensive armor-protected attack helicopters, while Israel chose one of the market's smallest helicopters for antitank missiles, the Hughes 500, which had great success in Lebanon, for example.

Sweden is investing in a middle-sized, old and tested model in order to learn about a weapon system which will perhaps not be modernized about 1990.

The supplier of the 20 antitank helicopters, which will cost nearly 500 million kronor in today's currency including the sight and other equipment, will be announced by 1 July. Many claim that from the beginning the Swedish Army should have invested in a larger transport helicopter with weapons, or directly in an attack helicopter.

There is now the risk that a transport helicopter will get less space than planned in the helicopter procurement program which amounts to almost 2 billion kronor until 1995. A transport helicopter is very necessary in a fast and mobile conflict over large distances in upper Norrland.

Many military experts that SVENSKA DAGBLADET has spoken with advocated a greater investment in that helicopter and continued development of the anti-tank system on the ground. They say that 500 million kronor is too much for an experiment in the air.

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## BRIEFS

NEW AIR TO SEA MISSILE--Norrkoping--The air force sank two Swedish hulks in a top secret test with the live loaded air-to-sea missile 04. This was disclosed by Air Force Commander Sven-Olof Olson on Wednesday. The tests took place in the summer of 1979 and 1983. Last year the missile was fired from a JA 37 Viggen against the 155-ton motor torpedo boat "Astrea." The hulk was "somewhere east of Stockholm's southern archipelago." "The test was very successful," said Olson. The 04 is comparable to the French Exocet missile, which among other things sank the British destroyer "Sheffield" during the Falklands war. Each live loaded missile costs at least 500,000 kronor. The reason for the test, according to Olson, was that the air force wanted to test the probability of hits. The secrecy of the material involved depends on whether a foreign power can gain electronic intelligence from the tests--therefore the exact location of the target was not released. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 26 Apr 84 p 6] 9287

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## ECONOMIC RECOVERY BEHIND RAPID RISE IN ELECTRICITY CONSUMPTION

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Apr 84 p 15

[Article by Stian Eidal Eriksen: "Electricity Consumption Increasing"]

[Text] Energy-demanding industry has increased its consumption of electric power by 16 percent in the first quarter of this year as compared with the first quarter of last year. So-called general consumption has increased by 10 percent since last year. If this figure is adjusted for the temperature difference between the first quarter of 1984 and the first quarter of 1983, however, general consumption has increased by only 6 percent.

Power consumption in Norway is calculated separately for so-called energy-demanding industry, like, for example, smelting plants, aluminum plants and other heavy industry, and general consumption, which encompasses ordinary households, public consumption and businesses. In the first three months of the year energy-demanding industry used 8 billion kilowatt-hours (kWh), while general consumption equaled 20.47 kWh [as published].

"The reason for the heavy increase in energy consumption in energy-demanding industry is the improving economic conditions for this part of industry," Electricity Suppliers' Information Service Editor Tor Inge Akselsen says. "Electricity consumption has increased steadily the last 12 months, something which agrees quite well with international economic conditions. As far as general consumption is concerned, the rest of industry has much of the 'blame' for the increasing consumption. There is more 'speed' in industry now. The change from oil to electricity is also one of the reasons for the increase," Akselsen says, who emphasizes that it is difficult to extract totally accurate figures from the statistics.

Energy-demanding industry is now using almost all the electric power it has contracted for. If consumption increases a great deal more, concerns will have to either apply for more electric power or aim at the open market in order to buy electricity.

"The water reservoirs contain satisfactory amounts of water. We are planning on exports to Sweden and Denmark this year, too," Akselsen says. "Last year a great deal of energy was exported to our neighbor countries. Record high

amounts of precipitation fell, but at the same time consumption was also record high. Within the country, too, the situation is now better as far as possibilities for reduction of incidental and excess power consumption are concerned. Many concerns are installing equipment and machinery which makes it possible for them to use electric power instead of oil when conditions are favorable. Because of the power companies' new policy of reduced prices for surplus power, it now pays for companies to use electric power when conditions are favorable," Akselsen says.

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CSO: 3639/105

## BALTIC SEA COMMISSION HAS MIXED SUCCESS AFTER FIRST 10 YEARS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Mar 84 p 24

/Article by R. Gatermann: "How Long Can the Baltic Sea Continue To Help Itself?"/

/Text/ Stockholm--Today it is no longer a scientific problem to protect the Baltic Sea from its biological death but simply one of economic policy. Ten years ago in Helsinki, the seven neighboring countries on the Baltic shore formed a commission for the biological protection of the Baltic Sea, and its work is now showing the first fruits.

In the Finnish capital these days the commission is celebrating 10 years of existence. It points out that what was then the greatest danger for the Baltic, pollution with heavy metals, DDT and PCB, has been largely averted through the joint efforts of all neighboring countries and most industrial and household wastes now flow into the world's largest brackish sea more or less purified. Shipping as well has strict requirements against dumping wastes into the sea. Because of improved oil transport-monitoring, the number of accidents has apparently also declined substantially. Despite all of that, scientists are still not convinced that the Baltic Sea is truly on the way to recovery.

In the 1960's, the first biologically dead spaces were detected on the sea bottom. Of the 365,000 square kms of Baltic Sea area, about 100,000 show scarcely any biological life today. To be sure, it was possible to save the ospreys and seals from extermination, but because of excessive concentrations of heavy metals, no liver from Baltic Sea codfish and other fishes may be sold in Denmark and Sweden. Paradoxically, further pollution is providing, at least temporarily, for a strong increase in fish production. Seldom has there been so much herring and cod in the Baltic as now. But soon there will be a failure of new generations. Previously DDT, PCB and heavy metals, now phosphorus and nitrogen--these are the gravediggers of the Baltic.

According to Swedish calculations, the flow of phosphorus and nitrogen into the Baltic has doubled in the past 20 years. In addition to the 80,000 tons of phosphorus annually, the rivers bring 700,000 tons of nitrogen. Another 200,000 to 400,000 tons fall out of the atmosphere and finally, blue-green algae, which, in turn, are nourished by phosphorus, produce an additional 100,000 tons. Whereas the phosphorus concentration can be further restricted through the

construction of sewage treatment plants, there has heretofore been but one effective method to combat nitrogen: the radical reduction in the use of artificial fertilizers in agriculture. In view of the economic interests associated therewith, researchers specializing in this field are skeptical.

Phosphorus and nitrogen encourage the production of plankton, the main food source of herring, upon which the codfish depends in turn. Both chemicals, however, simultaneously destroy sea flora and fauna. Not least affected by that is the herring, whose spawning grounds disappear. Added to that is the increasingly slower but vital water exchange between the North and the Baltic Seas. The oxygen-rich and salty North Sea water that comes into the Baltic with autumn storms has to combat a greater and greater quantity of polluted water and is no longer sufficient to keep it at a healthy level. To be sure, after the addition of oxygenated North Sea water, the recolonization of the desertlike sea bottom is occurring more rapidly than was previously thought possible.

Before people are in the position to take political and economic measures to reactivate and rehabilitate the Baltic Sea, however, nature continues to help itself out. In the half-dead areas, bacteria that do not need oxygen continue to live and to destroy nitrogen. In the opinion of some researchers, this is probably the reason why the Baltic Sea has not yet "completely turned over" and man still has a chance to prevent its becoming a dead sea.

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31 MAY 1984